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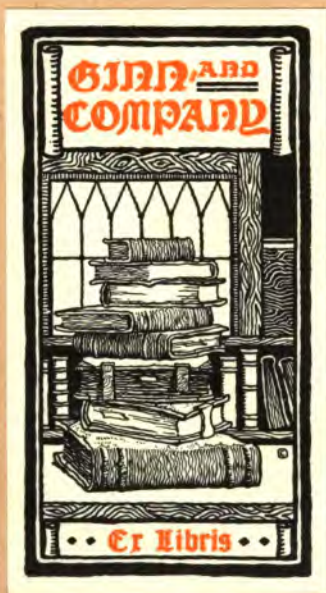
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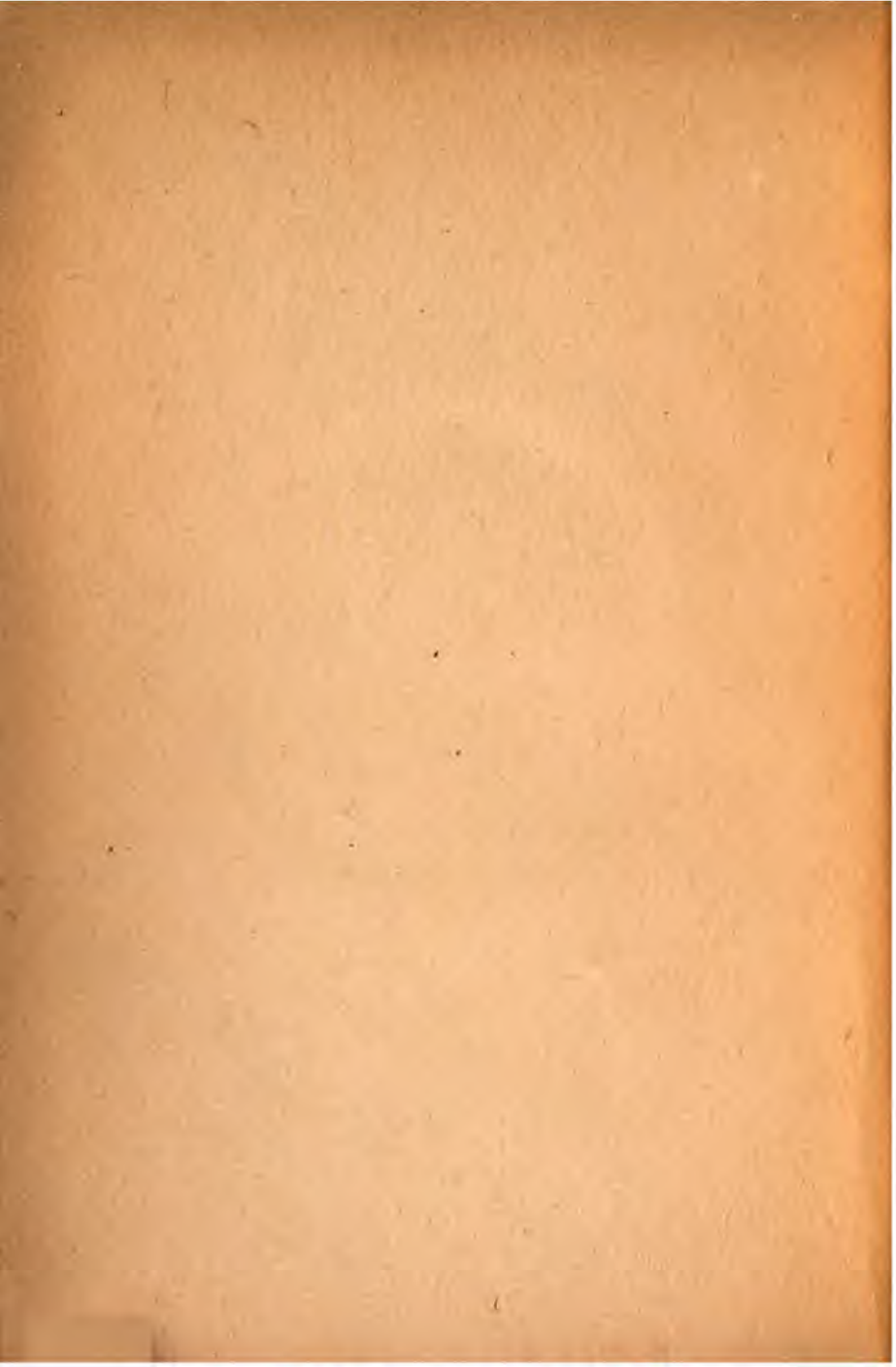


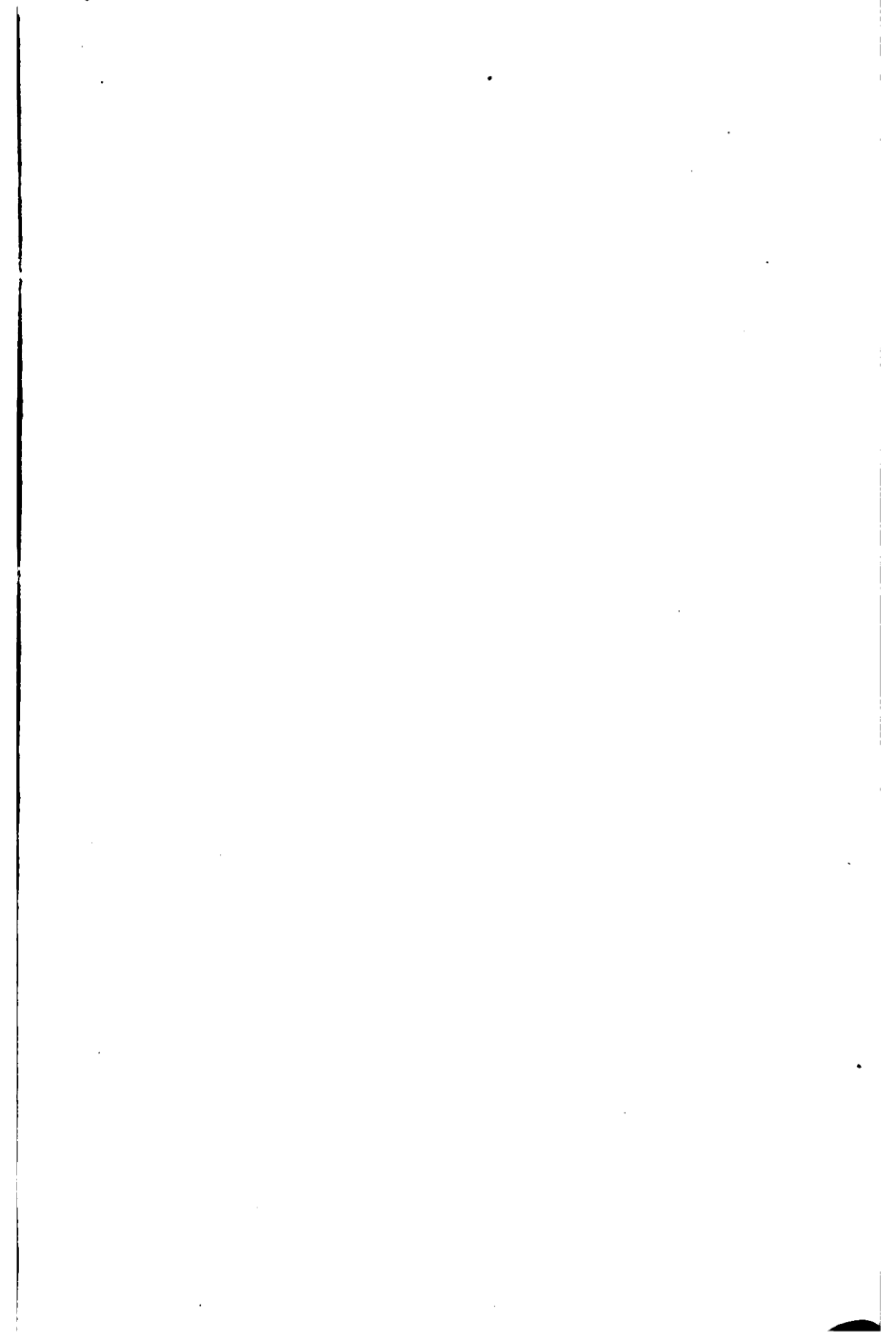
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**MARSHAL FOCH**

# LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

BY

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*With numerous maps from the French  
and other sources*



NEW YORK  
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY  
1920



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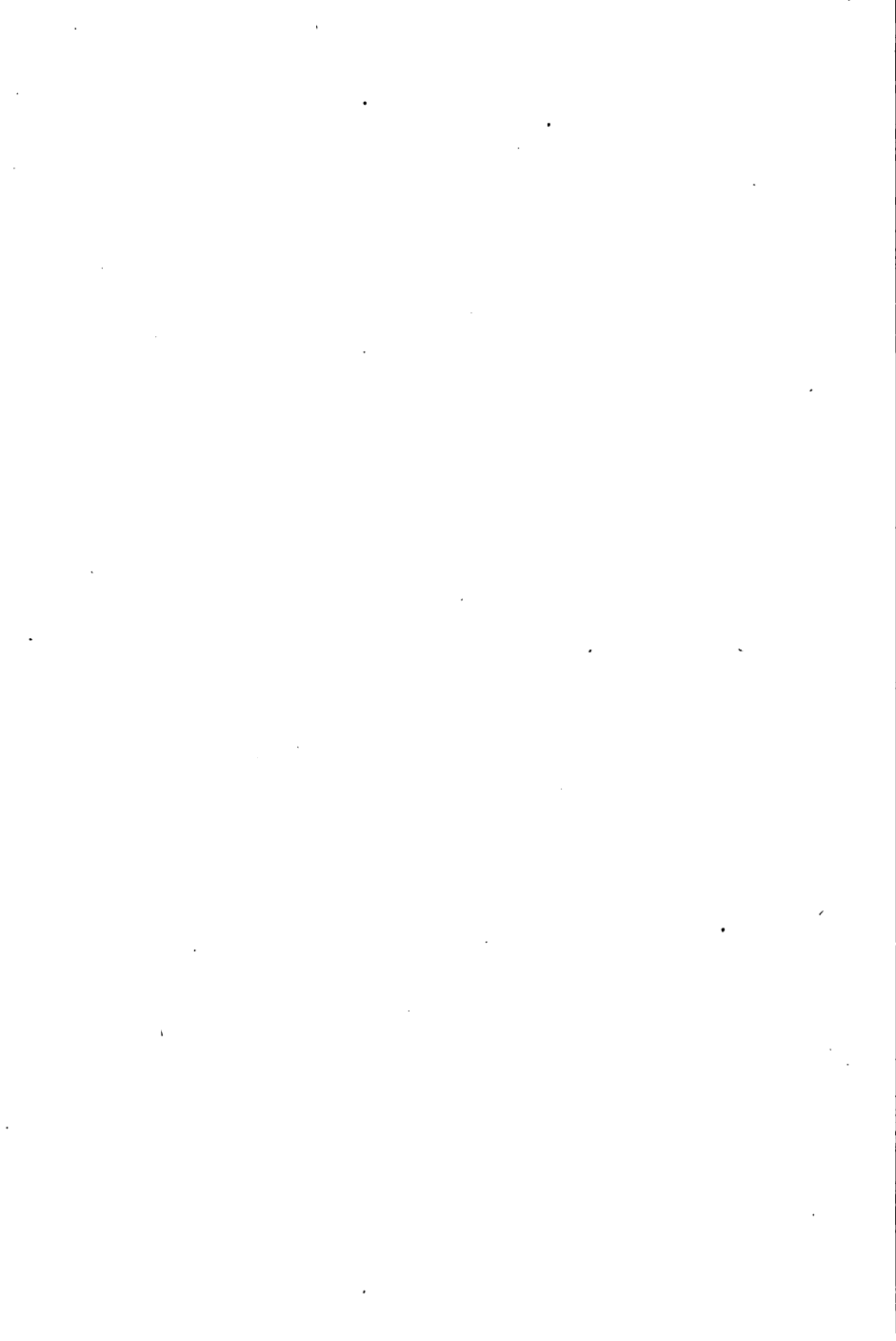
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**TO**  
**OUR GLORIOUS DEAD**  
**OUR MAGNIFICENT DEFENDERS**  
**AND**  
**OUR FAITHFUL ALLIES**



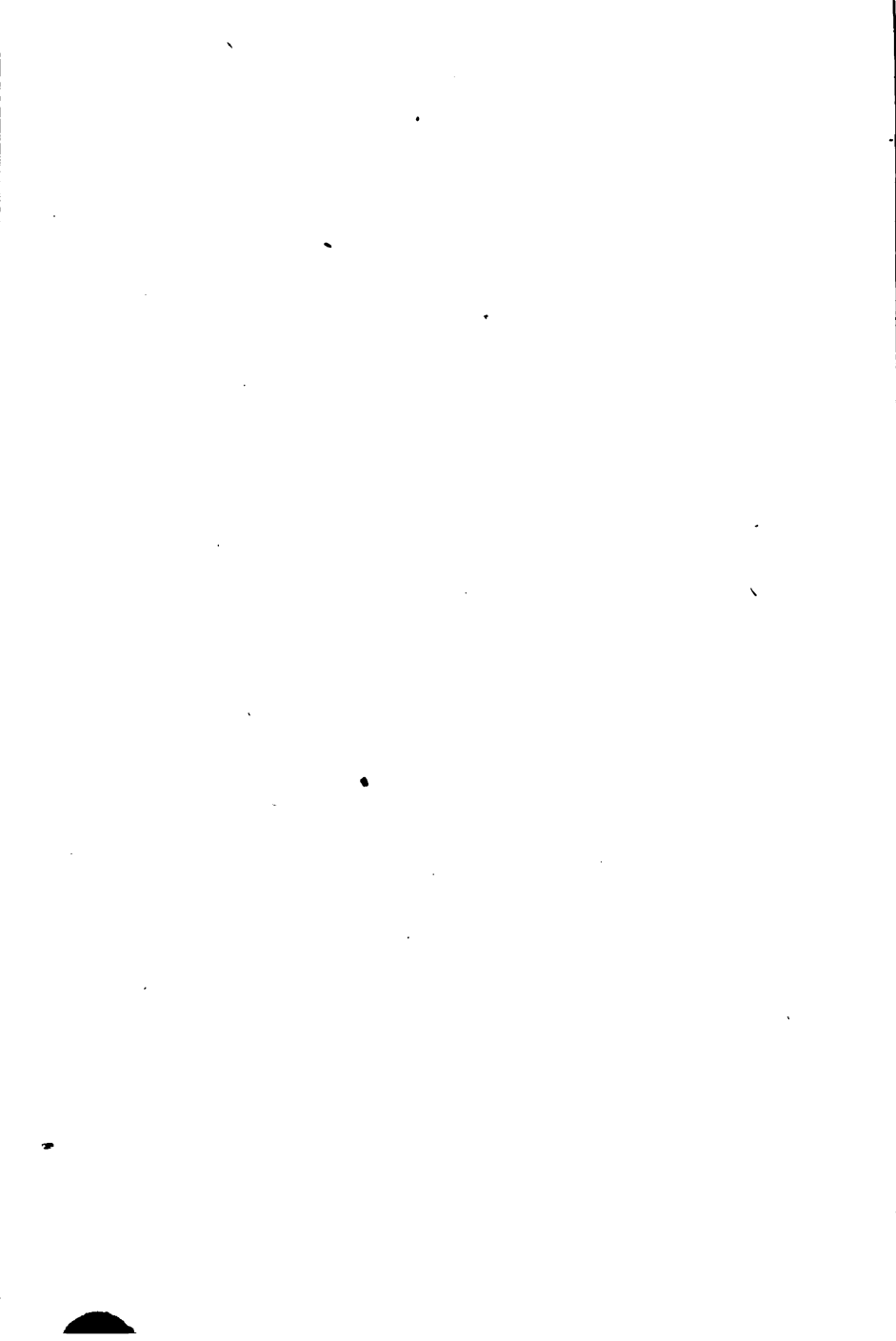
## PREFACE

The author's modest ambition is to offer to the public a guide which shall allow it to grasp, in their logical succession, the great political events of the last five years, and to preserve a clear intelligence of military operations in the many theatres of the war.

He has had to guide him the immense literature of minor details, called forth by the war, and especially the articles published in the great reviews. The scientific history, based on official papers and documents from the archives, will come later: it will be the patiently elaborated work of numerous groups of specialists and savants.

He contents himself here with evoking the principal personages of the glorious epic, and with recalling its high deeds and important dates.

Paris, November, 1918.



# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

### THE GERMAN RACE — PANGERMANISM

	PAGE
The foundations of Pangermanism.— Wiping out the defeat of Jena.— German unity.— Historic Pangermanism.— The biology of Pangermanism.— The work of Bismarck.— Germany Prussianized.— Preponderance of Germany in Europe.— William II claims the hegemony of the world.— Disgrace of Bismarck.— Economic Pangermanism. The agrarians of the East.— The manufacturers of the West.— The Berlin-Constantinople-Bagdad Railway. The Delbrück Law.— Proposed extension of German colonization.— Germany the Great toward 1950 . . . . .	3

## CHAPTER II

### THE ENVIRONMENT — WILLIAM II AND EUROPE (1900-1914)

Personal policy of the Kaiser.— His valet-chancellors.— The alliances: The Austria of Francis-Joseph; Italy. Decline of the Triplice; Turkey protected.— German provocations.— William and Nicholas II.— Edward VII and the Triple Entente.— The question of Alsace-Lorraine.— The question of Morocco.— The question of Bosnia-Herzegovina.— The two Balkan wars, 1912-1913.— The year 1913.— Tariff union of Mittel-Europa: Or hegemony of the world?—	
--	--

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Belligerent Germany.— Pacific France.— Incidents at the frontier.— The weakening of Russia.— English Liberals and Ireland . . .	20

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CRITICAL MOMENT — RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

The crime of Sarajevo.— Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.— Mobilization.— Double ultimatum of Germany.— Germany declares war.— Declaration of war against France (August 3). Reasons alleged.— Pacific efforts of England.— Violation of Belgian neutrality.— England enters the war.— Neutrality of Italy.— William's attempted justification.— What shall we say of the encirclement of Germany.— What shall we think of the necessity of defense.— The origins of the war.— The German people the accomplice of its Kaiser . . . . .	48
---	----

### CHAPTER IV

#### THE SUDDEN ATTACK — BATTLE OF THE MARNE

Enthusiasm in Germany.— Condition of opinion in France.— Appearances.— Reality.— Mobilization.— The Sacred Union.— The German army.— German concentration on the Belgian frontier.— The French army.— French concentration toward the Rhine.— Sudden attack through Belgium.— Battle of Charleroi.— The rush toward Paris.— Joffre generalissimo.— Change of front.— Retreat by Échelons.— Galliéni at Paris.— The Government of National Defense at Bordeaux.— Castelnau at the Grand-Couronné of Nancy.— The order of the day of September
--

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
6th.— Battle of the Marne.— Battle of the Aisne. — Fall of Antwerp.— Battle of the Yser.— Declaration of the 4th of Sept., 1914 . . . .	65

## CHAPTER V

### EASTERN FRONT — SERBIA AND RUSSIA (1914-1916)

Serbia and Belgium.— Defeats of the Austrians in Serbia.— Double invasion of the Russians in Eastern Prussia.— Battle of Tannenberg.— The Russians in Galicia (1914).— Battle of the Four Rivers.— Interior difficulties of Russia.— Surrender of Przemyśl.— Mackensen in Galicia: Retreat of Grand Duke Nicholas.— Retreat of Russky. Capitulation of the strongholds in the North.— Campaign of 1916.— Offensive of Brussiloff. Sudden stop.— Germans and Bulgarians in Serbia.— Devastation of Serbia . .	90
--	----

## CHAPTER VI

### DISTANT THEATERS OF WAR — IN THE ORIENT — ON THE SEA AND IN THE COLONIES

Extension of the war.— The Turkish Empire and the dream of German hegemony.— The Young Turks and Germany.— Turkey at War. The Holy War receives a check.— Expedition of the Dardanelles (1915).— Menaces against Egypt and India.— Massacres of Armenia.— The Russians in Armenia.— The War on the Ocean.— Comparison of Naval Forces.— Pursuit of the German Merchant Marine.— Naval Battles.— Maritime Bombardments and Aerial Raids.— Blockade of Germany.— Submarine warfare.— The <i>Lusitania</i> .— Extension of the torpedoeing.	
--	--



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
— The Note of January 31, 1917.— Attitude of the Neutrals.— Spain.— Switzerland.— Holland.— The Scandinavian States.— The War in the Colonies.— The Aid of Japan.— Conquest of the German Colonies in Africa.— How the Germans colonize.— German East Africa.— The vanished colonial dream . . . . .	102

## CHAPTER VII

### THE ITALIAN EFFORT—THE ARMY OF SALONIKI

The two groups of belligerents.— Italy and the Triple.— Increasing tension between Italy and Austria.— Rapprochement with France.— The neutrality of Italy.— Italy at war. The pontifical policy.— The Italian army. Victor Emmanuel III and Cadorna.— War in the mountains.— Austrian attack in the Trentino.— Italians in the Carso.— The expedition of Saloniki.— Ferdinand of Bulgaria.— Hesitations of the Entente.— The army of Saloniki.— National policy of Venizelos.— Perfidy of Constantine.— Forced abdication of Constantine.— The entrenched camp of Saloniki . . . . .	128
---	-----

## CHAPTER VIII

### RETROSPECTIVE PREPARATION (1915-1916)

The struggle in Trench warfare and equipment.— Retrospective Preparation.— New artillery.— Aviation.— Dirigibles and Zeppelins.— Divers Branches of Service.— Women in the War.— The Wearing-out Process.— Offensive of Artois and Champagne (1915).— The English Effort.— Why England went to War.— Conscription and War Factories.— Ireland and Home Rule.—	
---	--

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Campaign of 1916.—Verdun saved.—Preparation for the offensive of the Somme.—The Victory.—How the Germans wage war.—Economic terrorism.—Slavery of individuals.—Destruction of property.—Picardy after the retreat of 1917 . . . . .	146

## CHAPTER IX

### THE RUIN OF RUSSIA (1916-1918)

The Russian betrayal.—Rumania in the war.—Successful beginnings in Transylvania.—Envelopment of the Rumanian army.—The Russian Revolution.—Abdication of Nicholas II.—The Duma and the soviets.—Last effort of the Russians. Powerlessness of Kerensky.—Dictatorship of Lenine and Trotsky.—Decomposition of Russia.—The peace of Brest-Litovsk.—Bolshevism.—The German Retreat.—The Hindenburg and Siegfried lines.—The spring campaign of 1917.—Nivelle's army at the Chemin des Dames.—The English in Artois and in Flanders.—The autumn campaign.—The débâcle of Caporetto.. Italy recovers . . . . .	171
---	-----

## CHAPTER X

### AMERICAN AID

American aid.—Remembrance of France in America.—LaFayette.—American sympathies.—Hesitations of opinion.—Bravado of the Germans.—Torpedoings.—Declaration of war.—Preparations for war.—Conscription.—Americans in France.—Effects of blockade in Germany.—Increasing distress.—Life in France in 1917.—
---

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Changes in Ministries.— Defeatist propaganda.— The Clemenceau Ministry.— The policy of Clemenceau.— The moment of greatest peril to the Entente.— Martyred cities.— Raids of aviators.— Military operations.— German offensive of 1918.— 1. Offensive against Amiens.— The unity of command.— English reinforcements.— 2. Offensive in Flanders.— 3. Surprise offensive at the Chemin des Dames.— Rush toward Paris.— Bombardment of Paris . . . . .	194

## CHAPTER XI

### PEACE OFFENSIVES

The German war map.— The war map of the Allies.— Suffering in Germany.— The Hindenburg peace.— The Scheidemann peace.— The Pope's peace.— The peace of the Internationale.— Protestations of Labor.— The Wilson peace.— The three conceptions of peace.— Restitutions.— Reparations.— Guarantees.— The Society of Nations, the Conference of Rome.— The Polish Republic.— The Czecho-Slovak armies.— The Czecho-Slovaks in Russia.— Revolution at Prague.— Greater Serbia.— Disappearance of Austria . . . . .	219
--	-----

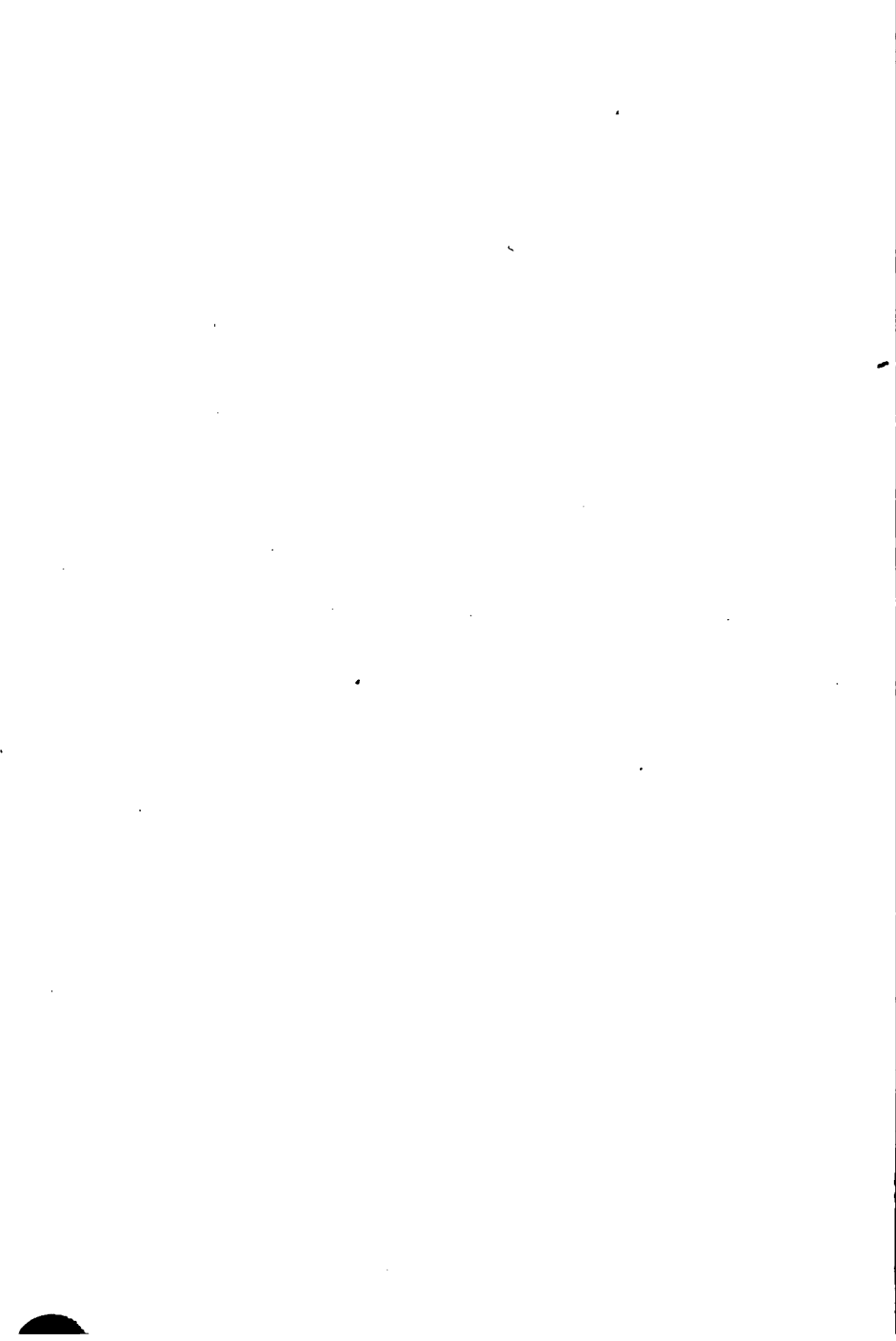
## CHAPTER XII

### VICTORY — CAPITULATION OF GERMANY

The supreme offensive.— Disposition of the German forces.— Tactics of Foch.— Disposition of the French forces.— The French chiefs.— General Foch.— The second battle of the Marne.— The offensives in Picardy.— The battle becomes general.— Retreat of the Germans.— Request for	
---	--

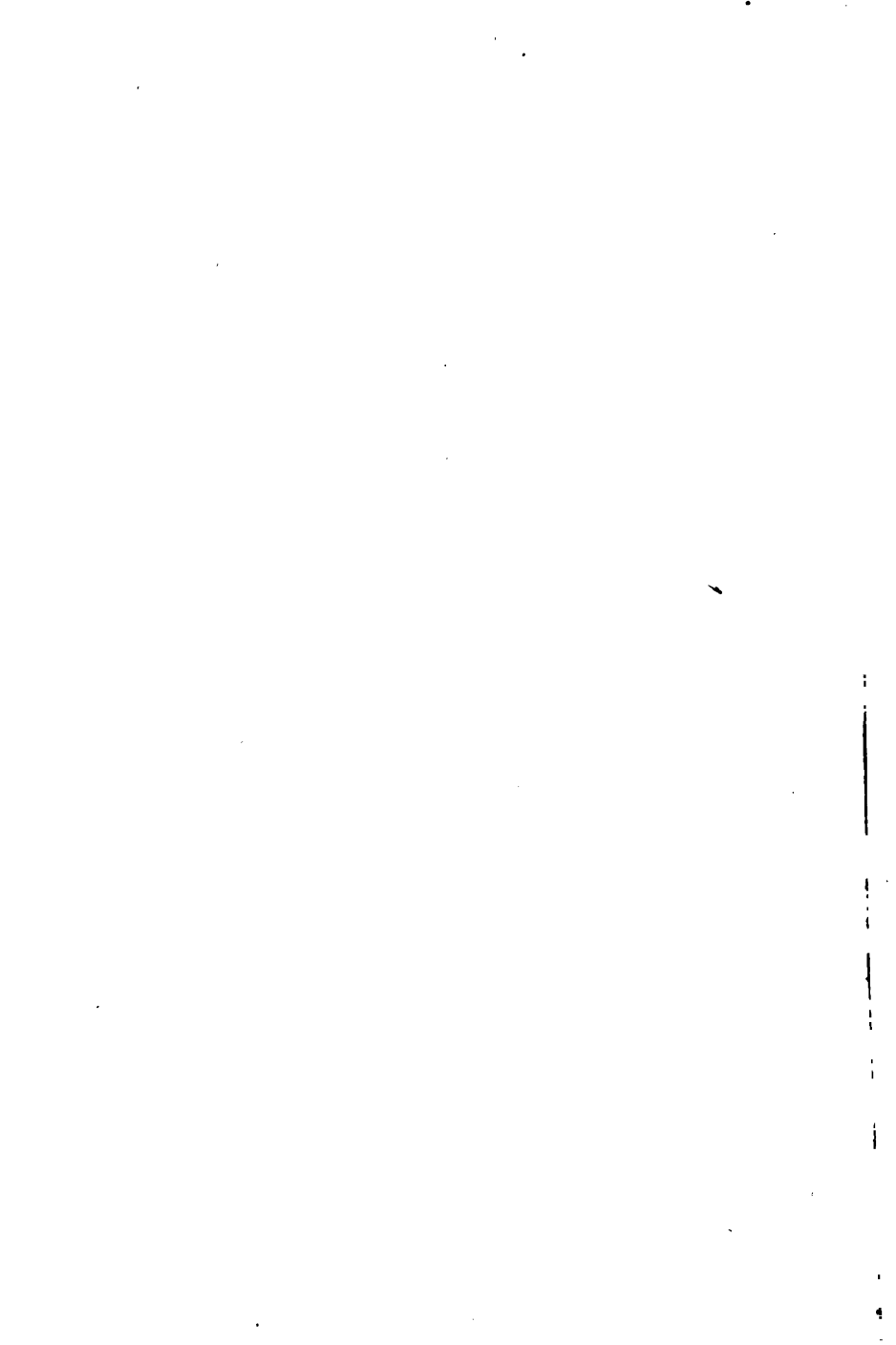
## CONTENTS

	PAGE
peace.— Pillagings, destruction and massacres.— Martyrdom of Lille.— German adieux to France and Belgium.— Collapse of Germany's allies.— Offensive of the Army of Saloniki.— Capitula- tion of Ferdinand of Bulgaria.— Liberation of Serbia.— The English in Mesopotamia.— Con- quest of Syria.— Débâcle of the Young Turks. — Retreat of the Austrians in Italy.— Attain- ment of Italian unity.— Intervention of the Al- lies in Russia.— Check of submarine warfare.— The armistice of Nov. 11, 1918 . . . . .	239



# MAPS

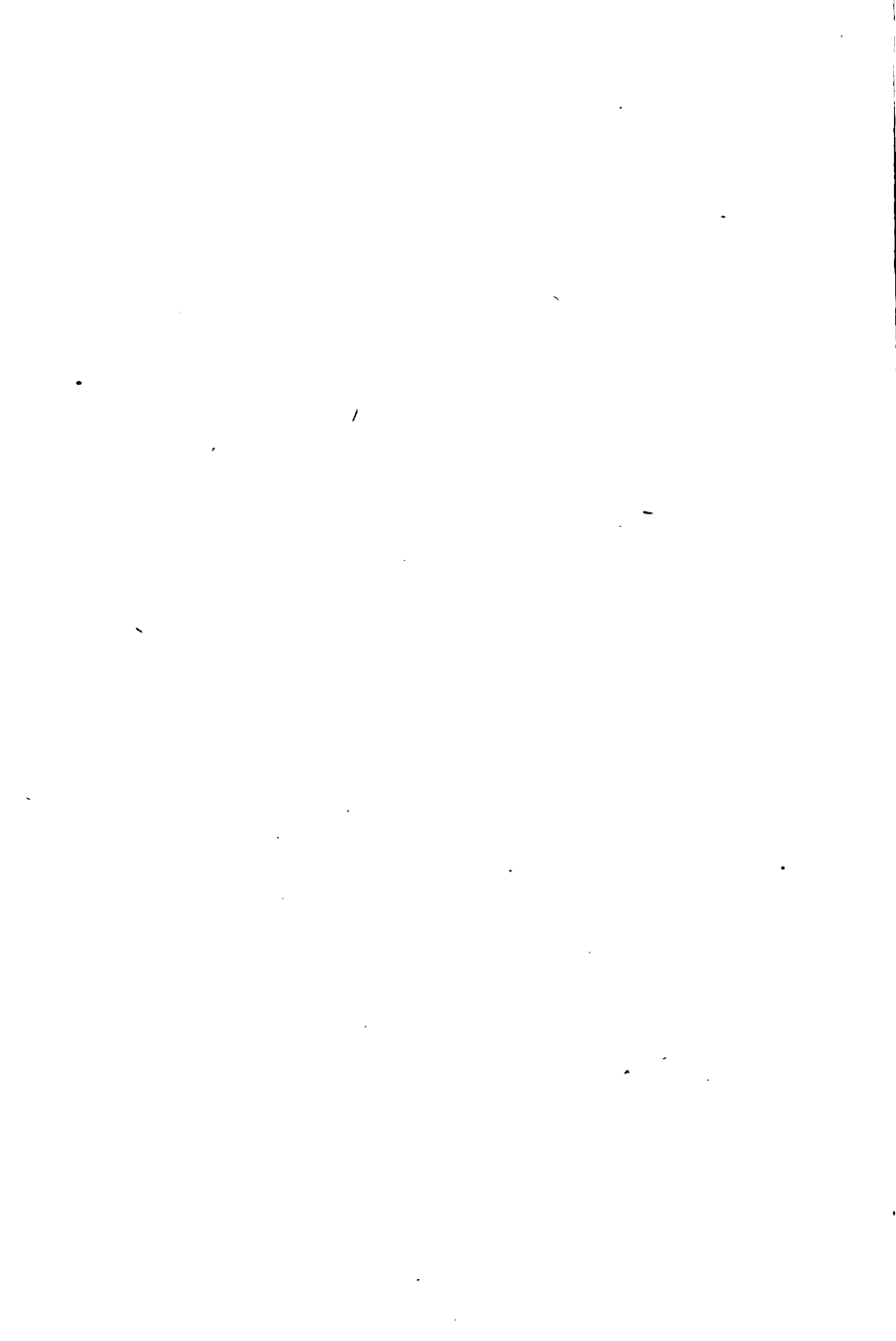
	PAGE
Central Europe . . . . .	10
The "Middle Europe" Scheme . . . . .	16
Germany and Her Frontier . . . . .	20
Allied and German Possessions in Africa . . . . .	32
Peninsula of the Balkans . . . . .	48
Situation of the Armies, August 24, 1914 . . . . .	73
Alsace . . . . .	75
Situation of the Armies, September 5, 1914 . . . . .	79
Situation of the Armies in October, 1914 . . . . .	86
Western Front . . . . .	87
The Eastern Theater of War (Southern Part) . . . . .	90
The Eastern Theater of War (Northern Part) . . . . .	93
Saloniki and Gallipoli . . . . .	104
Armenia . . . . .	108
Pre-War Colonial Africa . . . . .	126
Italian Front . . . . .	129
Pre-War Austria Hungary . . . . .	130
Northern Italy . . . . .	137
Belgium and Artois . . . . .	152
Verdun . . . . .	160
Eastern Front . . . . .	173
Former Russian Empire . . . . .	177
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918. Territory Surrendered by Russia . . . . .	184
Trentino and Carso . . . . .	193
Theater of the Spring Drives, 1918 . . . . .	210
Bagdad . . . . .	255
Syria and Palestine . . . . .	257



# LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

*Tantae molis erat*  
(*Germanam sternere gentem.*)  
(After VIRGIL)





## CHAPTER I

### - THE GERMAN RACE — PANGERMANISM

For forty-four years Germany prepared war, and William II unchained it through his mad pride. The Kaiser and his people, the one urging on the other and each urged by the other, are responsible before history. The teachings of the pangermanists caused all the trouble. It is therefore essential to know well these teachings.

**The foundations of pangermanism.**— One of the first doctrines of pangermanism is *the total absorption of the individual by the State*. The Prussian State, which, since Bismarck, has become the German State, imposes on its subjects a discipline without limits. As an individual, a German is expected to practise all the virtues which the various systems of morals teach; as a member of the German State, he is placed at birth in a mechanical organization from which he can never free himself. He is the slave of the State, which shapes him at school, reshapes him in the army, and holds him in the hollow of its hand in all acts which concern the collectivity. To obey the State, represented by its officers or bureaucrats, to obey blindly and immediately, even when the representative of public

#### 4 A LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

power orders you to pillage, burn, massacre — that is the fundamental law in Germany. In this manner the young Spartans were educated: "education fitted for wild beasts," said Aristotle.

Second doctrine: *the State must be strong, for might makes right*. Prussia in the beginning was an army which forged, first, the Prussian State, and, much later, the German nation. The ideal king of Prussia was the "sergeant king," Frederick William I, who passed his life collecting, as if they were specimens for a museum, Potsdam grenadiers six feet tall; who devoted every day to inspection of arms, to military instruction and manœuvres. His son, the great Frederick, the so-called philosopher king, had read Machiavelli a great deal. After the example of the Italian *Prince* of the sixteenth century, he was by turn lion and fox, in order to prepare by trickery the conquests which he realized later by violence. He maintained that what was good to take was good to keep, and by such methods as these he conquered Silesia and Poland. He continued the rôle of the medieval barons, who, in forest nooks, robbed travelers and merchants. Burglars and "toughs" in our time proceed in the same manner — they rob strong-boxes and banks at the point of the revolver, and shoot whoever defends himself. It is thus that might makes right.

**Wiping out of the defeat of Jena.**— These ideas took form in Prussia after Jena and Tilsitt, and they

were exploited by the masters of German thought and by German statesmen in the great national movement of 1813 against the French, who had become the *hereditary enemy*. The victories of Leipzig and Waterloo were not enough for the Prussians. Blücher and the German chauvinists, in addition to the diminution of territory imposed on France by the two treaties of Paris in 1814 and 1815, clamored already for Alsace, Lorraine, French Flanders and the creation, all along her frontier from Dunkirk to Mt. Blanc, of a zone six leagues wide, which was to be detached from French territory and occupied by federal detachments belonging to her enemies. The Czar Alexander caused these exorbitant claims to be hushed up, and, in 1818, turned over to the Duke de Richelieu the map which had been prepared in Prussia to support them.

**German unity.**—None the less, the hatred of German chauvinists for France did not diminish. They celebrated Arminius, the vanquisher of Varus, as a national hero. They clamored for an avenger of Conradin, the victim of Charles d'Anjou. They sang the "German Rhine" of Becker, and, in 1840, came near arming against France a new coalition of the powers of the Holy Alliance. The wisdom of Louis-Philippe succeeded with difficulty in silencing the clamorings of these madmen. Then, too, German preoccupations took a new tack in the great national movement of 1848. German unity, which the Liberals had been

## 6 A LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

unable to obtain by their speeches and projected constitutions, was realized by Bismarck through fire and blood. After Sadowa and Sedan, William I, King of Prussia, was recognized as hereditary emperor of Germany by the German princes, the 18th of January, 1871, the one-hundred-and-seventieth anniversary of the creation of the kingdom of Prussia. Davout entering Berlin at the head of the victors of Jena, Napoleon holding in his hands at Potsdam the sword of the great Frederick, William I receiving the imperial crown in the palace of Louis the Great, the German troops defiling under the Arc de Triomphe at Paris — strange vicissitudes of human affairs!

**Historic pangermanism.**—Pangermanistic ideas had developed at the beginning of the century. "The State alone has rights," said Hegel, "for it is the strongest." Curtius and Momsen affirmed the necessity of Germany's succeeding Greece and Rome and conferring on the world for decades of centuries German morality, substituted for Roman corruption.

Treitschke, Giesebrecht, Lamprecht multiplied historical reminiscences which were to justify Germanic expansion in Europe. They harped on temporal domination of the Holy Roman Germanic Empire over all Christian Europe as constituted in the Middle Ages; armed colonization of the Teutons among the Slavs of the Baltic; extension of the Hanseatic League, whose device was: "my field is the world," and which monop-

olized all the maritime commerce of northern Europe; the conquests of Frederick II. Such, they said, were the historic traditions which should be remembered, which Germany should cause to be revived by arms and which conferred on her the right to dominate Europe. According to Treitschke, it was from Germania that came all the grand and noble achievements of humanity — chivalry and the communes, the crusades and Gothic art, the Reformation and modern science. For him, "the German is the salt of the earth, the Prussian the salt of Germany, and the Hohenzollerns the salt of Prussia." According to him and his disciples, Gregory VII, Innocent III, Dante, Shakespeare and Christopher Columbus belong to Germany. Jesus himself, is he not of Aryan blood, is he not German, since he had blond hair and a sensitive heart? <sup>1</sup>

**The biology of pangermanism.**—The theory of Darwin, interpreted by Haeckel and Ostwald, admits as proved the subordination of the individual to the collectivity. In the struggle for life, the weak are devoured by the strong. The blond and dolichocephalous races possess the largest proportion of bone and muscle,

<sup>1</sup> This confiscation in favor of Germany of the great geniuses which are the honor of humanity goes very far: Giotto is Jotte; Alighieri is Aigler; Vinci is Wincke; Buonarrotti is Bohnrodt; Velasquez is Velahisc; Arouet, Diderot, Gounod are Arwid, Titroh, Grundewald; all these illustrious Latins have distorted names derived from the German; they are therefore Germans who can and should be claimed in honor of Germany. Such are some of the grotesque etymologies risked by learned pangermanists.

and, consequently, physical aptitudes and an energy of the will which are lacking to the small brachicephalous dark men of the Latin race and the germanoids of the Slavic race. It follows from this that the Latins and Slavs must accept German domination or disappear. "The people which is metaphysically predestined has the moral right to realize its destiny by all methods of cunning and force. . . . Sacred selfishness is the unique law for Germany, and its sole immorality would be to be weak." (Fichte, Hegel, Clausewitz, etc.) Thus modern science comes to support the traditions of German history, in order to confirm the superiority of the chosen race and its right to preponderance in Europe.

**The work of Bismarck.**—Bismarck was a powerful realist, an enemy of all chimeras. This rude giant, with athletic shoulders and the head of a bulldog, with the manners of a brutal and insolent trooper, set himself at first to recast Germany in order to mold her entirely according to the Prussian ideal. He crushed the opposition of the Catholics by the *Kulturkampf*, that of the Socialists by the laws of exception, that of those who had been annexed in spite of themselves — the Guelfs of Hanover, the Danes of Schleswig, the Poles of Posnanie, the Alsacians and Lorrainers of France — by his ironic disdain of empty talk and by a policy of germanization carried to the last degree, intended to crush all national or particularist claims.

**Preponderance of Germany in Europe.**— None the less, he knew France to be irreconcilable, after the loss of two of her finest provinces, hence he had to increase the army and the war chest. In order to isolate France, he renewed the Holy Alliance by the pact of 1872, concluded with Russia and Austria, and encouraged the Austrians in their *march toward the east*. At the signing of the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, he appeared as the supreme arbiter of the destinies of Europe, taking away from Russia the spoils of Turkey to enrich Austria with them, deciding by sovereign authority the fate of the Balkan States, inviting France to seize Tunis, in order to embroil her with Italy. The honest broker had kept nothing for himself, having merely taken care to enrich his new friends. When Russia in her humiliation resolved to withdraw from the Triple Alliance, he got Italy to enter it (1882), and concluded with her and Austria the famous *Triplice*, which lasted until 1914. Twice, in 1875 and 1887, he meditated attacking France, whom he felt to be hostile, and who was recovering too rapidly. But he contented himself with threatening her with war. He was even hostile to the new movement in favor of German colonization. Although he presided in 1885 at Berlin over a congress for the partitioning of the vacant territories in Africa, it was solely to assure to Germany the benefits of the open door and commercial freedom in the valleys of the Niger and the Congo. Bismarck considered Germany

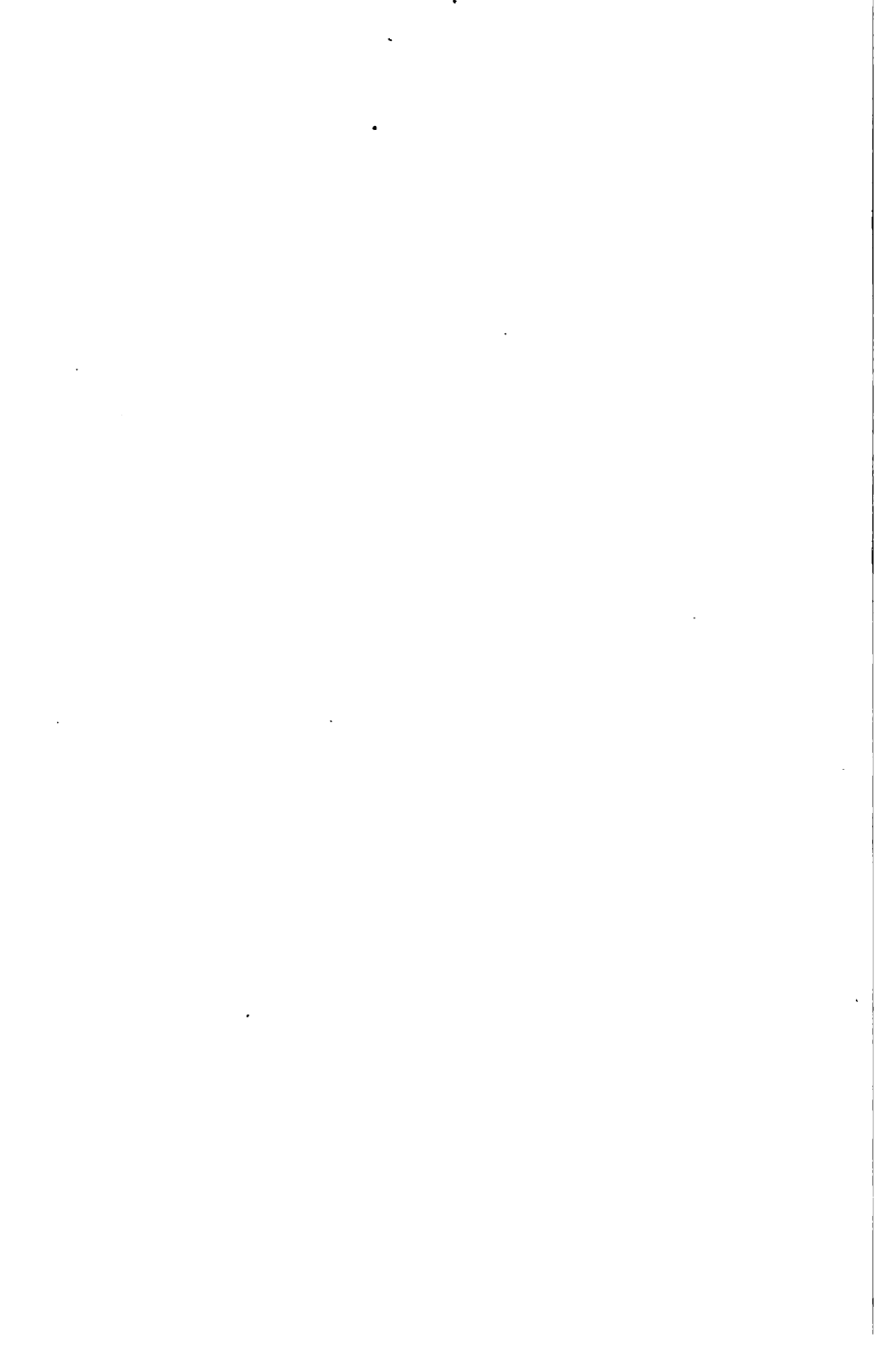


to be satiated: she ought to digest her acquisitions and not seek new ones. He had *Prussiafied* Old Germany, and had made out of a federal State of twenty-six principalities a centralized, coherent State, subject to the will of its military chief, the King of Prussia. He had rendered Germany preponderant in Europe by the power of her army, by her system of alliances, by the rapid development of her economic resources. The work of the Iron Chancellor seemed to have the solidity of rock. For him, the German Empire came as a *crowning*.

**William II claims the hegemony of the world.**— For Bismarck's true successor, William II, the German Empire is only a *preface*. Germany must rule the world, and all the pangerman propaganda converges toward the world-wide preponderance of the new Germanic empire. Two distinct periods are to be considered in this reign: 1, up to 1900, a period of economic preparation to put *Germany over all* by wealth as well as by military force; 2, from 1900 to 1914, a period of provocations — Germany, conscious of her strength, seeks new aggrandizements in Europe and the hegemony of the world.

**Disgrace of Bismarck.**— William I, surnamed the Conqueror, who would have been nothing but a new "sergeant king" if he had not been served by a von Moltke and a Bismarck, died, laden with years and glory, in March, 1888. The old emperor was suc-





ceeded by a dying prince, his son Frederick III, to whom opinion ascribed, perhaps wrongly, pacific and humane sentiments. His reign of three months was a living death, which his heir, William II, found somewhat too long. Accordingly, he hastened its close by his intemperate ambition. The disgrace of Bismarck was easily to be foreseen. The aged chancellor wanted to provoke a socialist uprising, in order to crush it brutally and thus exterminate democracy forever. But William II said: "I do not want, for the beginning of my reign, to walk in blood up to my ankles." Bismarck withdrew to his domain at Friedrichsruhe, where he survived his disgrace eight years (1890-1898).

Unfilial son, thankless disciple — this was a disquieting commencement of a reign. Nevertheless Germany welcomed her young emperor with the admiration which she lavishes on all her masters, when they have something showy about them. Europe felt for him the indulgence which it always shows to the young and the bold. Young, restless, especially vain, a curious subject for study and difficult to define, he often startled Europe with surprises. He summoned Jules Simon and Burdeau to an international conference which he held at Berlin (1890), to have their opinion on the social question. In 1891, his mother, Empress Victoria, made a journey to Paris to consult French painters as to their paintings which were to

be exhibited at Berlin. In 1895 he invited a French squadron to come and salute him at Kiel, at the inauguration of the canal from the Baltic to the North Sea. William wanted to make Europe believe that he would be the emperor of peace. But his policy of the mailed fist rendered vain all his advances to France.

**Economic pangermanism.** The agrarians of the East.—In the meantime, he bent every effort to increase to the utmost degree the wealth of Germany. Economic preparation for war was to keep pace with military preparation. Beginning with 1871, Germany had turned her attention toward industry with the joy of a young nation conscious of its strength and with the cumbrous stubbornness which characterizes German methods. Under William II, economic prosperity reached unexpected results. Agriculture was developed especially in the low countries of Germany, formerly a region of moors, sand and marshes, now made fertile by the hard toil of peasants descended from the conquered Slavs. The great landed proprietors, a haughty caste of petty noblemen, a caste both military and bureaucratic, set itself to industrialize the cultivation of its lands, by fertilizing them with abundant manure, by utilizing everywhere agricultural machinery in order to replace *human material*, which had become scarce and costly. These *agrarians* did not succeed however in producing cereals cheaply. They called loudly for a protective tariff, in order to

remove foreign competition. Above all, they stood in need of new lands to colonize, and they saw these lands at their door, in Poland, in Lithuania, in the Baltic provinces. It was only necessary to take them from Russia.

**The manufacturers of the West.**—Over and against the agrarian petty nobles, stood the high barons of industry, who had given an unheard of impulsion to the work of the factories. From 1892 to 1912, the production of coal had increased 176 per cent., that of cast iron 277 per cent., that of paper and cardboard 210 per cent., that of chemical products 311 per cent. The powerful steel factories and manufactories of arms of Krupp at Essen, of Thyssen at Mülheim, of Ehrhardt at Düsseldorf, attained an excess of over-production, as did the silk and velvet factories at Crefeld, the German Lyons. German manufacturing needed *free trade*, in order to receive cheaply the crude material from abroad. More than once the Kaiser had to serve as supreme arbiter between the protectionist agrarians and the free-trade manufacturers. The peace arranged between these hostile brothers always ended in an agreement to demand new conquests. The manufacturers had need of iron ore, which is rare on the other side of the Rhine and which exists in abundance in the basins of Briey and Longwy, in north France and Belgium. The Germans only needed to stretch out their hand to seize possession of it.

**The western seaports are coveted.**— In order to get rid abroad of the surplus of industrial over-production, they practised the indelicate method of dumping, consisting in selling outside of Germany, at a price below that fixed by secret agreement for domestic consumption, the surplus products which the German market could not absorb. This happened in the case of chemical products, steel, machinery — all sold in France, England and Italy at a price below cost. This method requires that transportation by freight be at the lowest price. To bring this about, one needs a powerful marine and well equipped harbors. William proclaimed that the “future of Germany is on the water.” He developed naval construction with feverish activity. Indeed, the marine is the only thing he has understood well. Hamburg and Bremen were insufficient, but Rotterdam and Antwerp, Dunkirk and Calais were within reach and might become German. One would run against opposition in England, it is true, but William took also into account the struggle against England which would be joined after the seizure of the coveted lands in Russia and France.

**The Berlin-Constantinople-Bagdad Railway.**— **The Delbrück Law.**— Little by little, the great steamship companies, the Hamburg-American, the North German Lloyd, began transporting over all the oceans, along with German traveling-men, the surplus of German industrial production, and the temptation

naturally came to the pangermanists to spread in the Balkan countries and in Mussulman Asia, which were still so far behind the times, the methods of the great German culture and the industrial technique necessary for the exploitation of all the riches under the surface of the soil. Hence came the grandiose conception of the Berlin-Constantinople-Bagdad railway, a great commercial line which would menace doubly English competition in Egypt and India, and which would drain from the Orient all the rich crude material that Germany cannot produce on her soil.

Furthermore, German emigration had furnished, up to 1890, to the United States and the South American republics teeming legions of colonists and workers. Why should these excellent Germans be lost for Germany? They could still serve as German pioneers, as German spies, and they should be maintained in a group under German law. The German authorities began by declaring that a German, even if naturalized in a foreign country, does not lose his original nationality, if he declares before the consul of his native country that he desires to remain a German subject. The famous Delbrück law of 1912 makes this declaration.

**Proposed extension of German colonization.**— Besides, things had changed since Bismarck. Colonies had been acquired — the Caroline Islands, the Marshall Islands, the Bismarck Archipelago, the Samoan Islands in the Pacific, the arsenal of Kiaochau with the penin-





THE "MIDDLE EUROPE" SCHEME

sula of Shantung in China, and, especially, large territories in Africa — Togoland, the Camerun, German South-west Africa and German East Africa. The best places were already taken, yet the Germans had need of more extensive and richer colonies. Portugal was too anaemic to be able to keep alive her colonies in Africa; the Congo was too big for little Belgium. The French colonies were the richest, but France had ruined herself in subduing them; the increasing poverty of the French birth-rate had forced France to cease sending out colonists in sufficient number. Germany, then, should come into possession of all this great African domain which the Portuguese, the Belgians and the French were incapable of developing. They were weak and therefore despicable rivals. It was to Germany's interest to despoil them, and she would prove lacking in her duty if she did not do so.

**Germany the Great toward 1950.**— There thus came into existence between the Kaiser and the German people a current of sympathy quite natural, a perfect harmony of ardent aspirations toward the economic and military hegemony of the entire world. Thus the program of the pangermanic leagues, which had multiplied since 1894, became larger and larger. The emperor favored them in all his speeches and in all his voyages, and, by a reflex action, they caused to penetrate deeper and deeper into the consciousness of the people and into the mind of the Kaiser the necessity

## 18 A LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

of a great, world-wide war. In this way was traced the plan of the pangermanic future. In a popular book, called *Greater Germany and central Europe in 1950*, a map represents the countries which will then be subject to Germany hegemony. This hegemony will extend from middle Europe (*Mittel Europa*) over almost the entire black continent, over all eastern Asia, including the rich Dutch colonies of the East Indies. In Europe, Mittel-Europa will have swallowed up Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, with vast regions taken from France and Russia. To this territory will be attached those parts of South America which have been colonized by Germans. Such was the goal assigned to the ambitions of the chosen race of the old Germanic God. To attain this goal, the Kaiser needed only develop the strength of his two arms — an irresistible army and a preponderant fleet. He could thus realize Germany's will to dominate on land and on sea.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Cheradame has given in his substantial work, *Le Plan pangermaniste démasqué*, the sum of the inhabitants of the different States which Germany proposed to annex or to reduce to the position of vassals.

### EUROPE

(By million of inhabitants)

Holland .....	6.1	Russian Poland .....	12.5
Belgium .....	7.5	Baltic provinces .....	2.5
Luxemburg .....	26	Lithuania .....	5.7
Switzerland .....	3.8	Total for the East .....	20.7

French departments to the north of the line Belfort, St. Valéry-sur- Somme .....	Austria-Hungary .....	50.
		<u>5.77</u>

Total for these western  
territories ..... 23.43

#### RECAPITULATION

German Empire .....	68.
New territories .....	94.

#### SUBJECT STATES :

Balkans .....	22.
Turkey .....	<u>20.</u>
	204.

That would make 204 millions of subjects ranged under the German Empire, procuring for it an army of from 15 to 20 million soldiers, with two transversal railways: Calais-Berlin-Riga and Hamburg-Saloniki-Persian Gulf. This does not take into account the Asiatic and African colonial world which Germany plans to annex.

The other great national groups which are to be compared with the above are:

England and her Dominions .....	400.
Empire of Russia .....	170.
United States .....	100.

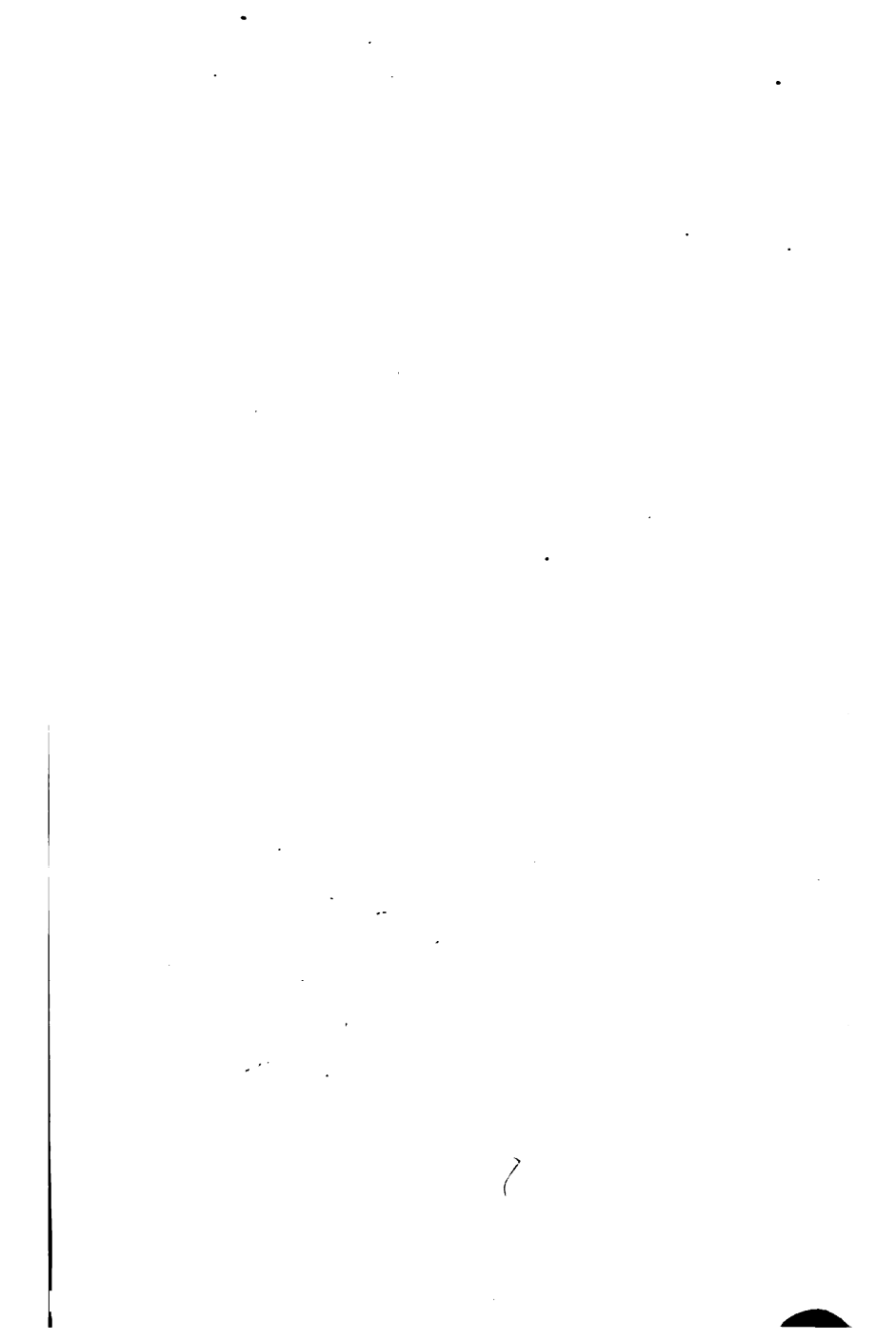
France, with her 39 millions and her 50 millions of colonial subjects, makes a sorry figure in this tableau. But it is estimated that, thanks to peace in France, the population of her colonies may double in less than a century. (Author.)

## CHAPTER II

### THE ENVIRONMENT — WILLIAM II AND EUROPE

By the first years of the twentieth century, the pangermanist leagues have accomplished their work. The German people, intoxicated with pride, armed to the teeth on land and soon to be so on sea, rich to the point of plethora, clamor for new conquests to take care of the excess of children, which reaches nearly a million of births per year. They have need of new lands in order to assure their food, crude materials to support commercial and maritime fleets. The pangermanist system of morals teaches that Germany's strength confers the *right* to aggrandizement in accord with her needs. It openly lays claim to the hegemony of the world.

**Personal policy of the Kaiser.**— The Kaiser, William II, infatuated with his all-power, is a man of sudden impulses, incapable of personal reflection; an amateur who thinks that he possesses all science; a mystic, persuaded that he is the protégé of the old German God who has reserved for his adorers all terrestrial power; a commercial traveling-man, always on the road, whether on his cruises in the Adriatic





and in the Norwegian fjords, or at his sensational interviews with sovereigns. He is, besides, a "cheap" comedian, who thinks only of theatrical attitudes, choosing among the three hundred costumes in his dressing room the one which is the best adapted to the rôle that is to be played on each occasion. His favorite title is *The War Lord*. In all his speeches he never fails to urge his military caste to keep its powder dry and its sword well sharpened.

**His valet-chancellors.**— In the place of Prince von Bismarck, the master-chancellor, who had the right to affect the ways of a Richelieu, he substituted "valet-chancellors": a Caprivi (1890–1893), a Hohenlohe (1893–1900), men without ideas of their own. Prince von Buelow pleases him because of his program: "let the King be at the head of Prussia, Prussia at the head of Germany, Germany at the head of the universe." But when Buelow outlines in 1908 a personal policy, he tosses him aside and places in charge of affairs a simple bureaucrat, Bethmann-Holweg, who arrives by regular promotion (1909). At least he will be docile. William insists on doing what he wants to, as he wants to. He tolerates no interference with the exercise of his full power by divine right.

His external policy is distinctly aggressive. He is determined that Germany shall make herself heard everywhere and on all occasions. He insists that no political or economic question shall henceforth be



settled in favor of any nation, in any country on the planet, without Germany's receiving in the settlement advantages proportional to her importance or to her interests. Thus is to be explained the policy of threatening intrigues and brutal provocations carried out by German agents in all countries. They walk closely in the footsteps of the master, and even exaggerate the insolent tone which he affects.

**The alliances. The Austria of Francis-Joseph.**—As his first task, William II strives to render indestructible the central European "block," united in the *Triplice* of Germany, Austria and Italy. After Sadowa, Bismarck transferred from Austria to Prussia the supremacy of Germany, but he did not mutilate Austria. He was able, as early as 1872, to bring about with her a rapprochement which becomes under William II a veritable suzerainty. Francis-Joseph, the immutable emperor, who occupied the throne of Austria from 1848 to 1916, was a man of shallow brain and dried-up heart — a man devoted only to the minutia of court-etiquette, to the superstitious practices of a Catholicism whose spiritual meaning escaped him, and to senile amours which robbed him of the little reason and will that he had left. For a long time Europe felt pity for the misfortunes of this old man, eternally vanquished. His brother Maximilian was executed in Mexico, and his sister-in-law became insane as a result of the tragedy. His wife, his only son, his nephew

(who had become his heir), all were assassinated. But neither defeats nor family tragedies, nor the mutterings of his subject Slavs, oppressed by the Germans and the Hungarians, who were his favorite subjects — none of these things made any impression on the impassible autocrat. Through the aid of the German Kaiser, he recovered in the Orient what the indifference or the hostility of Prussia had caused him to lose (Lombardy and Venetia) : he took possession, as early as 1878, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose complete sovereignty he assumed in 1908. His hopes soon extended to Albania and the domination of the Adriatic. He was preparing for Germany domination in the Balkans and the Saloniki route toward the Orient. Austria became the *brilliant second*, whose progress Germany favored everywhere with interested selfishness.

**Italy. Decline of the Triplice.**— Italy was less powerful, but seemed no less won over to the German alliance. One may call her the *Crispian Italy*, that is, an Italy embroiled with France since that country took possession of Tunis. William II kept alive with the greatest care the Italian distrust of her big Latin sister. Doubtless, Italy was not so sure an ally as Austria. She showed some slight desire for a rapprochement with France at the time of the visits exchanged by King Victor-Immanuel and President Loubet (1903-1904). Her Mediterranean interests

impelled her even at the Algeciras conference to support France in her claims on Morocco: she hoped in return to win the approval of the English and French for her conquest of Tripolitana. It is true that the Giolitti ministry, which remained in power almost without interruption from 1903 to 1914, favored all the German industrial enterprises and seizure by German banks of the great commercial and financial companies of Italy. But to try to realize an intimate union between Italy and Austria, was to try to bring into harmony water and fire. Italy continued to clamor for the *unredeemed* territories of the Trentino and Trieste. She was unable to look with an indifferent eye on the progress of Austria along the eastern shores of the Adriatic and among the Balkan States. Besides, William II regarded Italy as an ally of inferior quality; and in all the conflicts of that power with Austria or with Turkey, he always decided resolutely in favor of the "brilliant second." After the close of the Tripolitan war, when the bad humor of the Kaiser and his desire to aid the resistance of the Turks appeared very clearly, a last renewal of the Triplice was signed, on the 5th of December, 1912, but without any enthusiasm on the part of the Italians. The Triplice, then, was on the decline; a quarrel with Austria seemed imminent; and the *economic risorgimento* attained, thanks to the financial assistance of Germany, was going to allow Italy to free herself from the poli-

tical and economic yoke imposed by her too puissant ally.

**Turkey protected.**—The Kaiser applied himself obstinately to reinforce the Triplice by a protectorate over Turkey, in order to favor German penetration in the Balkans and in the Mussulman Orient of Asia. As early as 1897, he threw against the Greeks the Turkish army, drilled and commanded by von der Goltz and a legion of German officers. Europe contented itself with assisting Greece with advice and money, and beheld with stupor this first triumph of German military methods. In 1898 William went to parade in person in the Holy Land. He appeared as the crowned traveling-man of German commerce; he drank a noisy toast to a hundred millions of Mussulmen, in the hope of causing to rise some day against the English the Mussulmen of India and Egypt, and against France those of all northern and central Africa. Having become the dearest friend of Abdul Hamid, the *red sultan*, massacer of the Armenians, William arranged with him to start his great project of the railway from Constantinople to Bagdad, which would call to life again, for the profit of Germany, the ancient prosperity of the countries of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The policy of German expansion is henceforth clearly marked out; the bridge toward the Indies is begun. William is the guardian of Turkey, which is always a minor and always in decadence.

**German provocations.**—In the war against the Boers (1899–1902) the Kaiser took sides noisily against the English, by his telegram to President Kruger, but he did not yet dare to attack the formidable maritime power of England. The German fleet was not yet in a condition to fight.

In 1900 there burst forth in China a violent movement against foreigners. Europeans were massacred, and among them the ambassador of Germany. William, always haunted by the yellow peril, persuaded the great European nations to group all their contingents under the command of his favorite, Field-Marshal von Waldersee; and he enjoined on him these instructions: “No prisoners. Give no quarter. Bring it about that for the next ten centuries no Chinaman shall dare to look askance at a German.”

**William and Nicholas II.**—in order to turn the Czar aside from his European ambitions, which might bring on new wars against Turkey, and, by ricochet, against Austria, William dazzled the eyes of Nicholas with easy aggrandizements in the Orient. He was the principal instigator of the fatal Russo-Japanese war (1904–1905), in which the Russian colossus sank down in ruin, to the great surprise of Europe. The revolution of Petrograd, accompanied by bloody insurrections of the peasants, succeeded in destroying for many years the aggressive power of Russia. The Czar remained at loggerheads with the three Dumas,

whose dissolution he declared after a few months, in order to leave to his people none of the liberties which it was demanding with increasing insistence. Russia, vanquished, ruined, sick to the marrow of her bones from her internal struggles, was, besides, a prey to the endless fluctuations of the weak Nicholas II. The honest Czar felt repugnance at betraying the French alliance, out of fidelity to the memory of his father, Alexander III; but old traditions of alliance between the Romanofs and the Hohenzollerns, together with his autocratic instincts, brought him into closer relations with the German Kaiser; Russia was floating, uncertain as a vessel which had lost its moorings. One of the dreams of the pangermanists was perhaps about to be realized, and the Baltic might become a German Mediterranean, having, as its capital, the ancient Hanseatic <sup>1</sup> city, Riga.

Nicholas II, instead of reconstituting quickly his military forces, attempted merely to multiply the railways in retarded Russia, by means of milliards lent complacently by France. He was captivated by a noble ideal of general peace and universal fraternization. It was he who brought about the meeting of the two conferences of the Hague, in 1899 and 1907. The program consisted in fixing, under more humane conditions, the rules of international law; in terminating without effusion of blood the conflicts between peoples;

<sup>1</sup> See p. 181.

in substituting for force of arms the decrees of a high court of international arbitration. The representatives of the Kaiser signed all the humanitarian conventions, with mentally reserved intention of violating them according to the exigencies of German interests, but they refused absolutely to accept any limitation of standing armies and war fleets. "The worst hypocrisy," declared cynically the pangermanists, "is that Germany should have taken part in the conference of the Hague". (Ernst Hasse). At the mysterious conference of Bioerke (July, 1905) the Kaiser succeeded even in assuring for himself the assistance of the Czar for his attack against England; the Czar promised to carry with him France herself, as a third party to the combine, by means of the Franco-Russian agreement. Instead of breaking the Franco-Russian alliance, William II endeavored to annex it to the German policy, and that on the morrow of his voyage to Tangier! He failed to understand France. The honesty of the Czar had been taken advantage of; he communicated to his ministers the treaty already signed at Bioerke, but no further step was taken in the matter.<sup>1</sup>

### Edward VII and the Triple Entente.—The mari-

<sup>1</sup> The interview of Bioerke was known. The *treaty* signed between the Czar and the Kaiser was not known until after the revelations furnished the New York *Herald* by the Russian police official, Burtzeff, in 1917, and confirmed by the former ambassador, Iswolski.

time armaments of Germany were a brand of discord with England. The Kaiser hastened them actively, and the pangermanists realized that England would oppose their projects of aggrandizement in Europe and of world-wide hegemony: "To make England leave our hands completely free in the domain of European politics and acquiesce beforehand in all German extension on the continent, it will first be necessary to cross swords with her" (Bernhardi). Edward VII, arriving on the throne after a long silent preparation, was watching closely the crooked plottings of his imperial nephew. The great Englishman, whose reign (1901-1910) lasted too brief a time for the welfare of Europe — a man of a penetration which nothing escaped, of a firm will supported by public opinion and served by the immense sources of his maritime power and by the assistance of his overseas dominions — had understood the necessity of getting England to abandon its splendid isolation, in order to allow it to resume in Europe its rôle as the dominate factor in the balance of power. With all the force of his long-standing French sympathies, he negotiated with France the agreement of 1904, which settled all the colonial differences between the two countries to their mutual satisfaction. In return for her abrogating all objections to the English protectorate over Egypt, France obtained the consent of England to her extension in Morocco.



Edward VII also undertook to appease all the old latent quarrels between England and Russia. England maintained control over the route to India by Afghanistan and the hegemony of the Persian Gulf. But she arranged with Russia for strictly delimited zones of influence in Persia, while Japan, reconciled with Russia, entered the French alliance. All these Asiatic agreements led to the accord of 1907 between England and Russia, an accord confirmed in 1908 at the interview at Reval between Edward VII and Nicholas II. Thus the entente between France and Russia, begun in 1891 under the Ribot ministry, strengthened by the Franco-English rapprochement of 1904, due to the skilful initiative of minister Delcassé, was about to bear fruit. The last link of the chain was forged between France, Russia and England. The pact of peace was sealed without any written convention, by the sole virtue of loyal words exchanged. The Triple Entente brought about a wise equilibrium of forces in Asia as well as in Europe. It was to oppose a peaceful but redoubtable front to the encroachments of Germany. The conclusion of the *Triple Entente* meant the dislocation of the Europe of Bismarck.

**The question of Alsace-Lorraine.**—The question of Alsace-Lorraine remained the ever-bleeding wound in our side which prevented all rapprochement with Germany, despite the intermittent advances of the Kaiser. By incorporating by violence Alsace-Lorraine

in the German union through the treaty of Frankfort (1871), Germany had committed a veritable crime against modern ideas. One has no longer the right to make conquests in Europe, as in the time of Frederick II, for to-day nationalities are inviolable. As the annexed populations say in their eloquent protestation: "Germany has exceeded its right as a civilized nation in forcing vanquished France to sacrifice a million and a half of her children. . . . The annexation carried out without our consent constitutes for us a veritable moral slavery. Citizens having a soul and intelligence are not merchandize for carrying on commerce. . . . The representatives of Alsace and Lorraine affirm their will and their right to remain French; we declare null and non-existent a pact which disposes of us without our consent. . . . The revendication of our rights remains forever permissible to all and each of us in the form and measure which our conscience shall dictate."

In the German organization Alsace-Lorraine had a peculiar and painful situation. Having no reigning dynasty, no autonomous government, Alsace-Lorraine was condemned to remain a prey, conquered in common by the army of the Empire and exploited in common by the Emperor and the federal council. The French language was proscribed, and German was declared the sole official language. All the efforts of the government tended to germanize the country, sub-



jected to an arbitrary regime, under a brutal dictatorship. But the resistance was invincible. In 1874, Alsace-Lorraine, having obtained the right to elect representatives to the Reichstag, chose fourteen protestors and one autonomist. In 1887 all the deputies elected were protestors, and Jacques Preiss, deputy from Colmar, dared to utter in the very Reichstag a new cry of reprobation: "The collective declaration of our people protesting against annexation achieved by violation of our preference preserves its full and entire force. It could only be effaced from the annals of our history by a retraction having the same authority." Bismarck never dared to have recourse to a plebiscite to permit the Alsatian-Lorrainers to decide as to whether they wished to be reattached to the German fatherland. He knew too well what reply he would receive.

Property wrongfully acquired never profits one. In order to keep Alsace-Lorraine in check, quivering under a detested yoke, in order to be on guard against a war of *revanche* on the part of France, the Germans had continuously to increase their army, equip their fortresses, fill their arsenals, and transform a long peace of forty-four years into a breathless preparation for war. By their warlike initiative they forced all the nations of Europe to undergo the disastrous régime of armed peace, more ruinous than was any war before our time.

**The question of Morocco.**—The question of

Morocco came to envenom relations between France and Germany. The Germans as yet carried on no commerce in that country; but they wanted to establish there a coaling station — a prelude to total occupation. France had a vital interest in preventing the establishment of Germany in that beautiful country, which served as a place of refuge to all the brigands of her Algerian territories. She therefore concluded two agreements in 1904: first, with England, which agreed to accept French penetration in Morocco; second, with Spain, which was to limit herself to the occupation of Riff, whose harbors she already held. These agreements were revealed at Berlin before their signature, and aroused no protest. But after the defeat of the Russians by the Japanese, the Kaiser, knowing that France was then in the midst of a crisis which paralyzed her military and maritime forces, undertook his famous voyage to Tangier (31st of March, 1905), in order to encourage the Sultan, Abd-el-Azis, in his resistance to the plan of reform proposed by French agents. France had to accept the calling of a conference at Algeciras (1906). Thanks to the support of England, Russia and Italy, the conference recognized in France and Spain "the right to exercise their privilege as neighbors in matters of commerce and police, while leaving the 'open door' for the commerce of all nations." Up to this time, French penetration had taken place from the confines of Oran; it took henceforth the op-

posite route — from the shore of the Atlantic toward the interior. In 1908 the affair of the deserters of Casablanca, who were openly protected by Germany, came near precipitating a new conflict, which the great French patriot, Clemenceau, then the head of the government, prevented by the firmness of his language. A third time, after the occupation of Fez by the French to avenge the massacre of her citizens, which had been brought on by German instigation, the Kaiser tried again to make himself heard. The sending of the German cruiser *Panther* to the port of Agadir might have turned loose the great war. But England showed her teeth. The communications of Sir Edward Grey and the vigorous speech of Lloyd George forced William to put back the sword which he had half drawn from his scabbard. He contented himself by the agreement of Nov., 1911, whereby he obtained a thin slice of the French Congo in exchange for his promise to recognize the French protectorate over Morocco. His pangermanists could not contain themselves for rage as they anathematized this new patching up of peace.

**The question of Bosnia-Herzegovina.**—It was easier to stir up causes for war in the Orient. The Turkish revolution had put an end to the sorry "Hamidian" régime and raised to power the Young Turks (1908). With the support of Germany, the Austrian minister, Aerenthal, who thought himself a

new Metternich, demanded for Austria full sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the Emperor Francis-Joseph had been administering in the Sultan's name since the treaty of Berlin. The Russian minister, Iswolski, called for a European conference, to permit the signatories of this treaty to accept the modifications insisted upon by Austria; and, by way of compensation for the advantages which this power was about to adjudge to itself, he demanded for Russia the neutralization of Constantinople and the free passage of Russian fleets through the Straits. Aerenthal accepted in the conference at Buchlau the two propositions of his Russian colleague; then, sure of the consent of the Kaiser, he occupied militarily the two coveted provinces. The promised European conference was not called, nor did the question of the Straits of Constantinople receive the promised solution. At this same time, Ferdinand, Prince of Bulgaria, a devotee of Austria, declared himself Czar of the Bulgarians, hence the independence of Serbia was already menaced. After four months passed in the exchange of notes and counter-notes, Europe yielded in the presence of the *fait accompli*. The premature death of Edward VII (1910) deprived Europe of a wise defender of the balance of power, who had always labored to make peace less unstable. Immediately after this, the Czar, in order to recover the good graces of the Kaiser, withdrew from the Vistula to the

Dnieper and Volga the Russian army corps which had been cantoned in Poland, whence they threatened both Germany and Austria. After the interview at Potsdam (1910), Nicholas began to draw nearer to William, without however breaking with France. The two systems of alliance which divided Europe were adapted so as to tolerate each other mutually, but it was to be feared that the Russian-German rapprochement might end in a chilliness between France and Russia.

**The two Balkan wars, 1912-1913.**—The revolution of 1908, which had tumbled the red sultan from the throne, might have regenerated Turkey. Unfortunately, divisions among the Young Turks increased the anarchy still more. Italy profited by the Ottoman crisis to seize Tripolitana (1912), and Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Greece, without waiting for the close of the campaign which was retaining in north Africa the best troops of the Turks, formed a coalition, a sort of crusade destined to liberate from the abhorred yoke of the Turks all their Christian subjects in Europe. Germany and Austria stood by and waited, in the hope of witnessing the triumph of the Young Turks, who had become the clients of the two Central Empires. But the victories of the Balkan powers disappointed the hopes of the two imperial accomplices. By the treaty of London (May 31, 1913), the Turks retained in Europe only the wide zone of suburbs around Constantinople. The Austrians even went to



the length of constituting, at the expense of their Ottoman protégés, an independent Albania, over which they installed a creature of Germany, the Prince von Wied, who was a Protestant and who found no support among his Albanian subjects, divided as they were between the Latin Catholics and the orthodox Greeks. The constitution of Albania was destined to create for Austria new difficulties with Italy, which was unwilling to see pass into hostile hands the eastern coast of the Adriatic. What had happened was a new stride of Austro-German imperialism toward Saloniki.

The division of the spoils brought into jeopardy the close understanding of the victors. Ferdinand of Bulgaria, urged on by Austria, treacherously attacked the Serbians and the Greeks, while the Turks profited by these family quarrels to recapture Adrianople. Then the sudden intervention of Rumania defeated for the second time the Austro-German hopes. But the patriotic resentment of the vanquished Bulgarians, the determination of the fate of Albania, still plunged in anarchy, and the rivalry of Austria and Italy in the Adriatic might at any moment cause the smoldering fires to flame up. The Kaiser had every facility for relighting, whenever it pleased him, the spark of war.

**The year 1913. Tariff union of Mittel-Europa?**  
— The year 1913 began amid warlike tumult of the Balkan Orient — a critical year *par excellence*, in which were completed the very last preparations for the great

war. Germany became more belligerent than ever; the language of the pangermanists no longer observed any measure — their plan of world-hegemony was spread out under the open sky. Some of them who were of relative moderation, like Paul Rohrbach, did not preach violent annexations. In accord with the captains of industry, commerce, banking and navigation, he would rest content with a Mittel-Europa which included in the same tariff union Germany, Austria and Italy, together with the Balkan States and all the Ottoman empire clear to the Persian Gulf. What was the use of colonies, when Germans penetrated everywhere, insinuated themselves into all great manufacturing and financial companies in all countries, and created everywhere branches of their native industries? The real German colonies were France, Belgium and Italy, North America, Brazil and Argentina. By her pacific expansion, Germany saw her population reach nearly 68 millions in 1914, her national fortune, from 1892 on, increase annually by two milliards of marks, her commerce rise in 1912 to 21 milliards, which placed her in second place, just after England, and not far from first place. Dr. Helferich, director of the Bank of Germany, placed the annual income of the German people at 43 billion marks, as against 25 in 1895. Why then did William run the risk of losing by war all the advantages which were certain to accrue to the Germans before the middle of the century, thanks to

their irresistible insinuation into all affairs of importance in all the markets of the globe?

**Or hegemony of the world?** — The explanation is that pacific expansion failed to satisfy the formidable pride of the Junkers of Prussia and the intellectuals of the universities. They demanded with increasing insistence world-wide germanization by the *sword*. General Bernhardt, in his book published in 1912 (*Germany and the Next War*), lays down this alternative for Germany: "world-wide power or decadence." He recognizes that neither France nor Russia nor England needs to attack to safeguard its interests. Nevertheless he insists on "the exclusive place in the sun for the chosen people, the place in the shadow for the others." It is, he says, a question of mixing up the cards and seizing the favorable moment: "Germany, the provocative agent, should arrange in such a manner that the others would be obliged to attack her." She is in a condition to sustain victoriously five campaigns of equal importance with that of 1870. Maximilian Harden, Ernst Hasse, Frymann, Frobenius, Admiral von Tirpitz, Count Reventlow, Naumann, all join the chorus in the press, in meetings, in the reviews, and urge a sudden attack. A violent epidemic of patriotism bursts out, which plunges young and old, great and small into a feverish expectation. To germanize the world is a right, therefore a duty. It is necessary to crush France, to reduce England to dust,

to take up again the work of the Teutonic knights as regards German expansion toward the East, to deprive weakened States like France, or powerless States like Belgium, Holland and Portugal, of the colonies which they have created with their blood and gold, but which they are no longer capable of peopling or defending, to plant in those lands, already prepared, German colonists, and to restrict the vanquished, bent forever under the rule of the nation of masters, to servile labor and the basest needs of industry. In order to add the final note to this concert, the German Kronprinz utters, in his *Germany in Arms*, his cry of *war young and frolicsome*. The Kaiser, in order not to see his popularity pale before that of his son, is henceforth a convert to the war.

**Belligerent Germany.**—The vigilant French ambassador at Berlin, Jules Cambon, drew to the attention of his minister as early as 1913 a curious conversation which took place in November of that year between King Albert and the Kaiser, in the presence of Gen. von Moltke, chief of the German General Staff. The Kaiser declared that war with France seemed to him now inevitable. As early as 1911, the German government proceeded to the increase of its armaments, with no other excuse than its desire to attack: 11,000 men and 177 millions of francs in 1911, 34,000 men in 1912, 140,000 new soldiers with 11,000 non-commissioned officers in 1913. The active army was

carried at one leap from 720,000 to 860,000, including 160,000 non-commissioned officers who were professional soldiers; an extraordinary war tax of a billion was raised among German capitalists.

**Pacific France.**— Face to face with Germany, drunk with pride and clad in iron, was gentle France, gay, free, generous, too easily forgetful of the past, always ready to pardon offenses, who instead of manufacturing heavy artillery and accumulating munitions, was devoting all the spare means of her citizens to works of social solidarity. Military laws had successively reduced the duration of active service from five years in 1872 to three years in 1889 and to two in 1905. Jaurès, the idealist, at the head of the French Socialists, proposed even, in his book, *L'Armée nouvelle*, to apply in France the Swiss system of militia. The Radicals, who came into power in 1902, systematically neglected foreign policy, in order to devote themselves to social reforms.' With the new weapons, with the frightful progress of chemistry in the art of killing and destroying, a general war would have been a horrible pestilence. *Fear of the risk* rendered it impossible, people thought. The French Socialists allowed themselves to be dazzled by the fatal German doctrine of Marxism, a doctrine utilized for exportation and having no longer any influence in Germany. The German Socialists had become docile and were ardent believers in pangermanism, which was to enrich

them by exploiting for their profit all the riches of the earth, but in international congresses they preached the struggle of class against class, in order to impoverish more surely all their foreign competitors. France, with her decreasing birth-rate, with her army reduced to a mere skeleton, was the object of German disdain and mockery. She was rapidly growing weak; she seemed nothing more than a prey easy to devour.

**Incidents at the frontier.**—In 1913, incidents at the frontier became numerous, a symptom of the approaching storm. At Lunéville and at Avricourt, dirigibles manned by German officers landed on French territory. German officers, about to cross the frontier under disguise of civilians in order to spy out the highways and fortresses, became indignant when arrested. At Nancy three German travelers were the object of a manifestation none too cordial from citizens going home late at night. The German press took fire and thundered violently against French insolence. At Saverne, Alsatian recruits were called thugs by Second-Lieutenant von Forstner. The colonel and the general sided with the insolent petty nobleman; Alsations who dared to protest were sabred in the streets of the town; the German minister of war, von Falkenhayn, declared to the Reichstag that the primordial duty was to make respected the “uniform of the King,” and the Kronprinz felicitated the officers who knocked the civilians over the head. That is how

#### 44 A LITTLE HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

Alsace was treated after forty-two years of German domination.

At last public opinion in France began to take alarm. Ardent patriots, the President of the Republic, Poincaré, ministers Briand and Barthou, presented a proposed law to reestablish the three years' active service and to extend to the age of forty-eight the military obligations of French citizens. But this law — a real law of public safety — was only obtained from the hesitant majority of the French Chambers by promising to release the classes of 1890 as soon as the two new contingents should be enrolled. In other words, in 1914 the French army of the front line would be composed of a single contingent which had had one year's service under the flag and which would have to take into its ranks two new contingents possessing no previous preparation. Never had a more attractive temptation been offered the pangermanists to strangle France.

**The weakening of Russia.**— Nor did Russia want war. Nicholas II had worked too slowly at the reconstitution of army and fleets after the Russo-Japanese war and at preparations to exploit the riches of his immense domain. All of his convictions as an absolute monarch were shocked by the secret plottings of revolutionary nihilists and the avowed claims of the Liberals, who aspired to the establishment of a strictly parliamentary régime. The struggle between the

Duma and the ministers became more and more serious. Besides, Russia was a prey to the hidden intrigues of Germans, installed in all positions of importance in the police, the administration and even the army and the navy. The court was infested by Germans, and the Czarina was a princess of Hesse, and more than one act of treason in the war was to paralyze the fine successes of the Russian soldiers. Nicholas, an intolerant Slav, inherited all of his father's distrust of the Poles, the Finlanders and other foreigners, so numerous in the heteroclitic world of the Empire of all the Russias. Thus the causes of weakness were profound, while the Tolstoyan doctrine of non-resistance to evil and evangelical pacifism prepared the general decomposition which was to end in the fatal cataclysm of the revolution of 1917. For the moment, Germany had nothing to fear from Russia, but she had all the more reason to fortify herself beforehand against Slavic expansion before it became irresistible.

**English Liberals and Ireland.**—The new King of England, George V, was not brought up to occupy the throne, to which he only acceded by the previous death of his older brother. A modest and reserved prince, who pleased the English by his profound knowledge of the navy, which had occupied his best years, he seemed to feel little interest in the great European questions where his father was a past-master. The Liberals had been in power since 1905, and had passed the Home



Rule bill to put an end to Irish agitation. But this measure had not yet been put into force, because of the opposition of the Unionists, who control Ulster and form rather numerous sporadic groups of Protestants among the autonomist Catholics of the southern and eastern counties. Thus Ireland remained a door open to German intrigues to defeat the policy of the English loyalists.

The English Liberals, Mr. Asquith, Lloyd George, Lord Haldane, were determined pacifists. At the time of the second conference of the Hague in 1907, they pronounced themselves resolutely in favor of the limitation of maritime armaments. Germany refused to enter into any discussion on this point. Without becoming discouraged, they returned to the charge. The minister of Finance, Lloyd George, in 1911 deplored seeing the Christian States expend annually more than ten billion francs to prepare the nations for exterminating one another. At the beginning of 1914 the English minister of War, Lord Haldane, was sent to Berlin to prepare a convention concerning maritime armaments. Before consenting, Germany demanded a promise of English neutrality in any conflict on the continent in which Germany might be engaged. This was equivalent to asking England to relinquish her position as a great power. Lord Haldane failed in his mission, and rivalry in naval construction between Germany and England continued as ardent as it had

been during the last period of seven years. England had given assurances that she would not attack; Germany wanted to preserve the ability to attack in all security.

In short, the great powers were pacific. Not one of them thought of arming against the warlike preparations of the Austro-Germans. The Triple Entente was a purely defensive group, and Italy herself had only entered the Triplice with the firm intention of not giving her assistance to any aggression of her puissant allies. When the Austrians, in March, 1913, contemplated invading Serbia, San Guliano, the Italian minister, refused to support the armed action projected by Count Aerenthal, declaring that the *casus fæderis* could not apply in such an attempt at aggression. It was nothing short of this firm attitude of Italy which prevented Austria from putting an end to the independence of Serbia in 1913.

But the pacific demonstrations of the great powers were for Germany no more than fresh reasons for exaltation, for new exhortations to brutal invasion. The "humanitarian and cosmopolitan absurdities" were, according to the Kronprinz, a conception of life which could not suit Germany. The decisive hour had struck for giving to Greater Germany the empire of the world. Germany had desired war for a long time; to declare it, she merely awaited the last final readiness of all her forces.

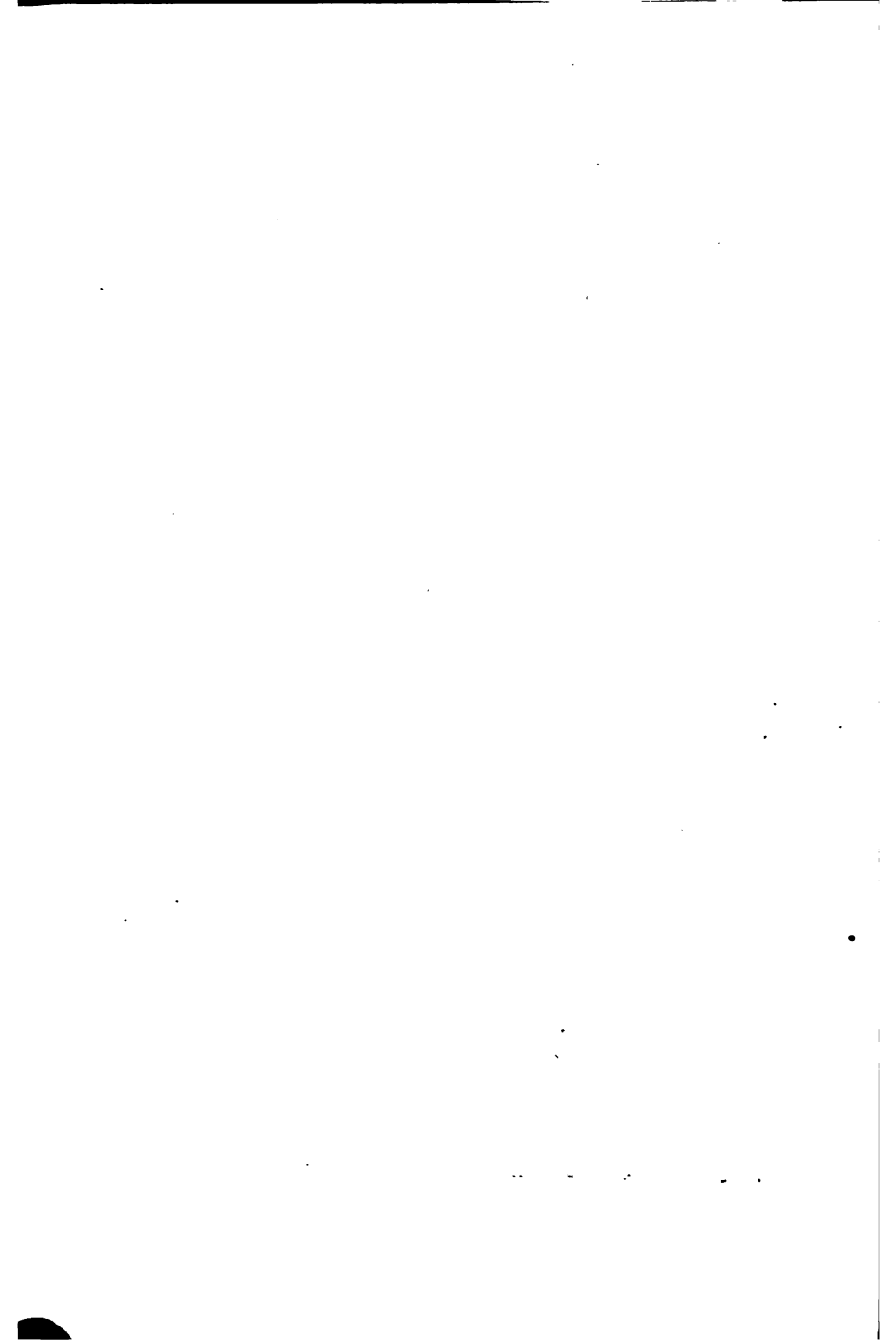
## CHAPTER III

### THE CRITICAL MOMENT—RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

It was in the Orient that flashed forth the spark which determined the general conflagration. But the Austro-Serbian quarrel was nothing but the pretext for a war in which the Central Empires aimed at the crushing of France and Russia. In a brief time, the fire spreading from State to State, the world ended by seeing in two opposite camps, on the one side the *predatory powers* contending for the conquest of lands and booty, and, on the other, the *honorable powers*, armed for the defense of justice and liberty.

**The crime of Sarajevo.**—The 28th of June, 1914, at Sarajevo, the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Francis-Ferdinand and his wife, Countess Chotek, Princess von Hohenberg, were attacked with bombs and killed with bullets from a revolver. The inoffensive bombs had been thrown by a certain Cabrinovitch, the son of an Austrian police-spy, so that one may believe, not without some reason, that the attack had been prepared by the Austrian police, in order to give an occasion for violent action against the leaders of Serbian agitation in Bosnia. It is not





indeed impossible that Francis-Ferdinand may have been *au courant* as to this machination of the police, which may have been intended to make much noise and nothing more. But the one who fired the revolver, the anarchist Prinzip, acted on his own account. It is to be noted in passing that the crime was committed in a city subject to Austria, by Austrian subjects, and could not in all equity be judged by any other courts of justice than the Austrian.

The Austrian government claimed, however, that Serbia, where to be sure people were much excited against Austria since the usurpation of 1908, was responsible for the crime. The Serbian minister Pachitch facilitated the Austrian investigation which sought ramifications of the crime in Serbia; good-will seemed at first reciprocal on the two sides. Europe, which had been worried as a result of the crime, became more calm, and President Poincaré set out with Viviani, president of the cabinet and minister of Foreign Affairs, to make a visit to Czar Nicholas at Petrograd. The investigation continued without incident.

**Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.**—All of a sudden, the 23rd of July, Austria addressed to Serbia an insolent ultimatum containing the four following exactions: 1. publication of a proclamation of the King of Serbia affirming that the Serbian government had nothing in common with the panserbian movement and dis-

approved of it; 2. opening of an investigation directed against the accomplices of the crime of Sarajevo with collaboration of Austrian functionaries; 3. measures of prosecution to be taken against all persons involved in the panserbian movement; 4. a delay of forty-eight hours allowed for the acceptance of these demands.

Under pressure of the ministers of the Triple Entente and despite the just reprobation of Austria by Serbian opinion, Pachitch accepted all the haughty Austrian exactions. He consented to the dissolution of the nationalist Serbian societies, to the restriction of the liberty of the press and of education, in an effort to prevent in Serbia all manifestations hostile to Austria. He made only a few modest reservations, such as having several Serbian magistrates assigned to assist the agents of the Austrian police, who arrogated to themselves the right to carry on an investigation in Serbia concerning the assassination of the 28th of June. Austria could not claim a more complete submission without destroying the independence of Serbia.

None the less, the 25th of July, half an hour after having received the reply of the president of the Serbian cabinet, Giesl, the Austrian minister at Belgrade, declared it to be insufficient and called for his passports, without having even consulted his government.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A few explanations are necessary to make clear the expressions in current use: the Quai d'Orsay, the Consulta, the Ballplatz, the Wilhelmstrasse designate the respective ministries of Foreign Affairs of France, Italy, Austria and Germany. The

Serbia had only yielded in accordance with advice from Petrograd. Thus the blow delivered intentionally by Austria reached Russia. Austria wanted war, and she was urged on by Germany.

Counsels of prudence from Paris and Petrograd had not been lacking. Accordingly a request was made for an extension of the period accorded Serbia for her reply, in the hope of arranging the difficulty by gaining time. But intimidation had already begun. Schön, the German ambassador at Paris, declared that the affair lay entirely between Vienna and Belgrade; "that any intervention of another power would, by the natural effect of the alliances, provoke incalculable consequences." (July 24.) England, thoroughly pacific, asked that the conflict be submitted to an examination by the powers. The minister, Sir Edward Grey, proposed either arbitration by the court of the Hague, or

*books* of diplomatic documents are distinguished according to the color of their cover: *yellow* book for France; *white* for Germany; *blue* for England; *orange* for Russia; *green* for Italy; *gray* for Belgium. The *white* book of the war merits no confidence; certain essential documents have been omitted from it designedly; others are falsified. The ministers of Foreign Affairs at the declaration of war were: in France, M. Viviani; in England, Sir Edward Grey; in Russia, M. Sazonof; in Germany, Herr von Jagow; in Austria, Count Berchtold; in Italy, Marchese di San Giuliano; in Belgium, M. Davignon; in Serbia, M. Pachitch. For the sake of rapidity, we shall suppress in our recital the appellation of Mr. and the titles. In excuse, it may be said that the majority of the personages involved in these grave events have already, although still alive, entered into history. (Author.)



mediation of the powers which were not directly involved in the rising difficulty, in order to establish an equitable accord between Vienna and Petrograd. From both Paris and London came insistent messages to obtain from Berlin a moderating action on Vienna. The German minister of Foreign Affairs, Jagow, besought also by Sazonof, declined to exercise any pressure at Vienna, asserting that he was unwilling to diminish the sovereignty of Austria. At Vienna all discussion with Serbia was ruled out; the friendly offers of the statesmen of the Entente met the disdainful refusals of Berchtold and the honeyed duplicity of the German chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg and his understudy, Jagow.

**Mobilization.**—Mobilization soon began. On the 28th of July, Austria declared war on Serbia, and Belgrade was bombarded by Austrian monitors. The German reservists were summoned to their regiments. The 29th, Austria mobilized against Russia her army corps of Bohemia and Galicia, and the same day, but at a later hour, Russia issued an order for mobilization which as yet affected only the regiments cantoned along the Austrian frontier. Russia simply replied to the Austrian provocation, without suspending her negotiations at Vienna; it is at this moment that Germany began to show her hand more clearly. The 29th of July, Schön issued at Paris a warning "that the military measures in France of which he has been in-

formed" (he does not indicate what measures, and for good reason) "will provoke corresponding measures in Germany." When the *Lokal Anzeiger*, the official journal of Berlin, announced mobilization on the 30th of July, the news, although exact, was denied by the chancery, because the Germans wished to avoid incurring the responsibility of the rupture with France. Up to this moment, Austria had been able to hope that Europe would, without drawing the sword, witness the crushing of Serbia, and accept once again the *fait accompli*. However, on seeing Russia decided to accept the gage of war, Berchtold changed his mind and lead Sazonof to hope that he would allow the powers to arbitrate the Austro-Serbian dispute. It was still possible to decrease the tension.

**Double ultimatum of Germany.**—Germany was unwilling to see escape *her war*. The 21st of July, she addressed to Russia and to France a double ultimatum, couched in most humiliating terms: an immediate demobilization was demanded of Russia, the reply to be rendered by Saturday, August 1st, at noon. But on Friday at a quarter past one, the Kaiser, from a window in his palace, announced the declaration of war to a crowd drunk with enthusiasm. "We are forced," he said, "to draw the sword." An odious falsehood, this, for which the Kaiser will forever bear the crushing responsibility. At Paris, Schön was charged to inquire of the French government whether it was dis-

posed to remain neutral in a Russo-German war, and to summon it to reply within eighteen hours. If France had accepted the ultimatum, we have since learned that Germany would have exacted *the placing of Toul and Verdun in the Kaiser's hands* as a guarantee of France's pacific intentions. In vain did Viviani, as a last pledge of peaceful intentions, give orders to the corps commanders to withdraw their most advanced posts ten kilometers within the frontier. This concession permitted the Germans to effect, the 2nd of August, seventeen violations of French territory between Belfort and Longwy.

**Declaration of war against France (August 3).**  
**Reasons alleged.**—On the 3rd of August, Germany declared war on France. The excuses alleged against France are fantastic to a disconcerting degree. French aviators were accused of having tried to destroy military constructions near Wesel; others, of having dropped bombs near Karlsruhe and Nuremberg. What aviators? No one saw them; what bombs? No one heard them, and the German local newspapers of the early days of August know nothing of these miserable inventions, which were denied later, as a matter of fact, by the authorities of Nuremberg. These grotesque falsehoods cannot stand unsupported.

**Pacific efforts of England.**—English diplomacy had been busy with most laudable ardor in trying to prevent the conflict. Opinion in England was indif-

ferent as to Serbia and opposed to war. The pacifist ministers had manifested their determination to prevent the German navy from attacking the French coasts, but they did not like to think of engaging their feeble army in a campaign on the continent by the side of French troops. As for Germany, in her calculations she figured on the neutrality of England. Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother, on his return from a mission to London, had affirmed that England would keep her hands off. Bethmann-Hollweg had promised Sir Edward Goschen, who represented England at Berlin, that, once victory attained, Germany would not retain any French territory, but she would compensate herself with the annexation of some of the French colonies in Africa. Again, Prince Lichnowsky, German ambassador at London, gave people to understand that Germany would even respect the integrity of the French colonies.

But the violation of the neutrality of Belgium swept away the last hesitations of the English. Belgium sacrificed herself to save her honor. Loyal England could not allow to go to protest the signature which she had affixed by the side of that of Prussia in the treaty of 1839, which recognized the neutrality of Belgium. In vain did Bethmann-Hollweg, in his famous conversation of August 4th with Goschen, seek to bend British honor: "You strike us from behind at a moment when we are defending our life against two as-

sailants, and why? For a word, for *a scrap of paper!*" What a magnificent dispute between these two men of opposite mentality, the German maintaining that occupying Belgium is an affair of life or death, because it is the essential condition of victory: *necessity knows no law!* The Englishman replied that it is a question of life or death for Great Britain to keep her promise. Face to face with brutal force, justice stood erect.

**Violation of Belgian neutrality.**— The violation of the neutrality of Luxemburg—guaranteed by the treaties of 1867—took place the 2nd of August. The Grand Duchess, of the German family of Nassau, favorably received the Germans, who had for a long while been the masters of the railways of Luxemburg. The people alone protested.

The same day the representative of Germany at Brussels informed the Belgian minister Davignon that French forces "had the intention of advancing on the Meuse"; that Germany saw herself obliged also to violate Belgian territory "to meet the violations of legal right" which it was supposed France might commit. The 4th of August, in the Reichstag, Bethmann-Hollweg confessed: "Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have perhaps already invaded Belgian territory. This is contrary to legal right, but we cannot wait—we are forced by necessity. When a nation is threatened as we are, it ought to think of only

one thing — to get out of the difficulty at any price." Such are the gross lies which the leaders of Germany led a docile people to accept. The reply of the Belgian minister merits being recorded in history: "No strategic interest justifies a violation of justice. By accepting the propositions which have been made to it, the Belgian government would by that act sacrifice the honor of the nation." As a matter of fact, the noble sovereigns of Belgium and the heroic Belgian people sacrificed themselves to save their honor.

**England enters the war.**— As early as July 31st, Germany had proclaimed a state of threatened war, which would automatically bring after it general mobilization and sudden attack. The 1st of August, the French Government posted in all town halls the order of general mobilization for August 2nd. Negotiations were not yet broken off. But August 3rd, Germany declared war on France, alleging ridiculous pretexts, which had been laboriously invented by stupid German imaginations. Germany had declared war on Russia the 1st of August. She declared war on England the 4th of August. Thus it was Germany that definitively undertook war against the three countries of the Entente.

**Neutrality of Italy.**— At the very opening of hostilities the Kaiser met two disappointments: he had thought that England would remain neutral, and England took up arms to avenge justice violated by the

German invasion of Belgium. He counted, further, on the military assistance of Italy. Now, Italy, in becoming a member of the Triplice, had made merely "defensive" promises. Accordingly, in August, 1914, she issued a declaration of neutrality, "not being bound by her anterior agreements to join the Central Powers in a war of aggression." These two psychological errors of German diplomacy were destined to weigh heavily on the destinies of the victory which the two emperors, accomplices in the same crime, had promised themselves. In fact, no greater crime is known in the history of the world, and never has a crime been committed with greater *sang froid* or denied with greater hypocrisy.

**William's attempted justification.**—The Kaiser tried to justify the declarations of war by the necessity of defending Germany against her enemies' policy of encirclement, and her brutal invasion by the necessity of meeting Russian mobilization and English and French plans for violating the neutrality of Belgium. It is easy to refute by facts these sophisms, which public opinion has long since disposed of. The policy of diplomatic encirclement was violently thrown in the face of our wise minister, Delcassé, who was sacrificed in 1905 to the reiterated clamors of Germany. Yet the Triple Entente of 1904 — confirmed by the Anglo-Russian accord of 1907 — had a purely defensive pur-

pose, whereas the Triplice showed on many occasions its aggressive appetite.

**What shall we say of the encirclement of Germany?** — Was it not the Germans who dominated at all the royal courts? In Rumania, King Carol was a Hohenzollern; in Bulgaria, the Czar Ferdinand was a Coburg-Gotha; Queen Sophia of Greece was a sister of William. A princess of Hesse was the Czarina; a princess of Baden was Queen of Sweden. The Prince Consort of Holland was from Mecklenburg. The King of Spain was the son of an Austrian archduchess. The dethroned King of Portugal had married a Hohenzollern. And then there were German princes in reserve, ready to occupy all vacant thrones, like Prince von Wied in Albania, or to occupy thrones to be created, like Prince Frederick-Charles of Hesse, proclaimed king of Finland by a rump parliament. In England, it is only with the magnanimous Edward VII that the German dynasty of Brunswick-Hanover becomes really English and national. The national dynasties of Italy and Serbia are pure of all mixture of German blood. As for the Belgian sovereigns, King Albert of Saxe-Coburg and his noble wife, Elizabeth of Bavaria, they adopted without restriction, and exalted even, the national patriotism of their new country. The majority of the other princes affiliated with Germany from near or far by direct descent or



marriage labored openly or hypocritically for the greater glory of Germany. It was, then, Germany, which, with all her princely tentacles, had for a long time encircled Europe. The Kaiser never missed an opportunity to accentuate his attitude of provocation and his policy of the mailed fist, by his toasts, telegrams and voyages, and by his flaming speeches in his various showy public appearances.

**What shall we think of the necessity of defense?**  
— We know, too, that Russian mobilization was not declared until July 29th, six hours after the Austrian mobilization, and that it applied only to the defense of the Russian frontiers of Austria and did not aim geographically at Germany.

In the matter of the neutrality of Belgium, William followed the example of his worthy ancestor, Frederick II, who first hurled his armies into Silesia and later gave orders to his jurisconsults to find legal pretexts to excuse the invasion. German archivists, after the putting to fire and sword of Belgium by the German armies, claimed to have discovered military agreements between Belgium and France and England against Germany. These were hypothetical agreements, purely defensive, and meant to protect against a German invasion. It was provided that the debarkment of English troops in Belgium should only take place after the violation of Belgian territory by German armies and only at the request of the Belgian government.

Thus all the pretexts of defense falsely alleged by Germany fall before a careful examination of the facts. William II and Francis-Joseph intentionally deceived their peoples, and combined to crush the small States of Serbia and Belgium and at the same time to unchain a world-wide war.

**The origins of the war.**— This question is of such importance that one should study the most recent documents, which bring little by little overwhelming revelations about the Kaiser. We cite the two most important of these documents:

1. The *Volkszeitung* of Leipzig, under date of July 20, 1917, speaks of the conference held in the palace of Potsdam, July 5, 1914, where were present the Emperor, the chancellor, the minister of War, Falkenhayn, Count Berchtold, Count Tisza and Gen. von Hoetzendorf, chief of the Austro-Hungarian general staff. This group drew up the principal points of the ultimatum which Austria was to send to Serbia the 23rd of July. They were unanimous in recognizing that Russia would refuse to sacrifice the independence of Serbia and that in all probability a general conflagration would be inevitable. They accepted resolutely this eventuality, and it is even probable that they fixed this very day the date of the mobilization. Thus, when the Kaiser, on his return from the Norwegian cruise, declared that he had not heard of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, he lied cynically. War had been

foreseen and decided upon since the 5th of July, 1914.

II. *The Lerchenfeld document*, which dates from July 18, 1918. Lerchenfeld was the representative of the Bavarian government at Berlin. He himself, or perhaps his adjutant, counselor Johann Schön, makes known the result of conversations with Bethmann-Hollweg, Jagow and Zimmermann, who, at the decisive moment, bore the responsibility of supreme decisions, as follows:

A. *Concerning the connivance of Berlin with Vienna in the Serbian affair.*—"The step which the cabinet of Vienna is determined to take and which will consist in the delivery of a note the 23rd of July, was delayed until this date, because they wanted to await the departure from St. Petersburg of Messrs. Poincaré and Viviani. . . . The note will contain the following four demands. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

B. *Ultimatum and mobilization.* "The ultimatums are at this moment *en route*, one to St. Petersburg, sent at noon, the other to Paris, sent at 6 P. M. At Petersburg we inquire the meaning of the mobilization; at Paris we ask to be informed if France will remain neutral. From both sides the answer will be in the nature of a refusal. Mobilization at the latest Saturday, August 1, at midnight. The Prussian general staff awaits with great confidence war with France.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 49.

It expects to be able to defeat France in four weeks. An unhealthy spirit reigns in the French army."

C. *Concerning the neutrality of Belgium.*—"Germany cannot respect the neutrality of Belgium. The chief of the general staff has declared that to respect the neutrality of Belgium even in order to obtain the neutrality of England, would be paying too large a price, since an *offensive war* against France is only possible by going through Belgium."<sup>1</sup>

**The German people the accomplice of its Kaiser.**  
— The German government has always claimed that in the Serbian affair Austria acted without consulting it, and has tried to show that England and France were the first to violate the neutrality of Belgium. In short, the *leit-motif* of all the speeches of the Kaiser and his ministers is that Germany was attacked and did nothing but defend herself. Kaiser, ministers and government, all deep in lies — there you have administrative Germany, and the German people sanctimoniously swallows the falsehoods which its masters feed it!

<sup>1</sup> The publication appeared in the official Bavarian correspondence of Hoffmann, and its publication was ordered by Kurt Eisner, president of the Council of the popular Bavarian Republic. It was drawn from the secret archives of the Bavarian legation at Berlin. The so-called republican and democratic government at Berlin is said to have burned all documents in the secret archives which were susceptible of compromising the Kaiser's government. If this has not yet been done, it will be done.

As a matter of fact, the Germans and Austro-Hungarians only asked to be deceived; the German people was daft from pride of race and the mystic folly of domination.

All the "international societies" combated for Germany — the "black international" of the Jesuits and the evangelical pastors, whose purpose was to bring to triumph in the person of the German autocrat, the principle of authority; the "white international" of the feudal conservatives and captains of industry, in order to apply in all the universe the methods of industrial and banking organization of the German milliardaires; the "red international" of the workers, in order to ruin the competition of foreign laborers, by paralyzing them through the adoption of the deceitful principles of Marxism, that is, sabotage and the struggle between the classes, from which they had freed themselves for the greater benefit of Germany. The black, the white and the red, the three colors of the German flag! What a strange symbol!

This war was, then, not a war waged by officers and intellectuals, as has been sometimes falsely asserted. The entire German people allowed itself to be intoxicated with the immoral doctrines and fallacious deceptions of its rulers and its professors. It was an accomplice in their crimes; let it support forever the penalty and infamy of this fact!

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SUDDEN ATTACK—THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

On the western front, the war commences with the sudden attack through Belgium and the German rush toward Paris, which was stopped by the Marne. Then the victory of Flanders causes the failure of the German armies' race for the sea. From this time on, the war of manœuvres ceases, giving place to trench warfare and to the wearing-out process, which are to continue for four years.

**Enthusiasm in Germany.**— In Germany the declaration of war surprised nobody. Vague rumors had been current about the decisions made the 5th of July at the conference at Potsdam. Throughout the month of July, abundant secret advice to return to Germany had been sent to Germans established in Entente countries. A word from the master was sufficient to insure the obedience of all. Germany, in civil, as in military life, marches as on parade. The announcement of the war aroused in the pangermanistic press cries of enthusiasm and in the large cities demonstrations of patriotic fervor. At last, France crushed and mutilated for all time would give up her riches, and

Russia her lands. As for England, reduced finally to the splendid isolation which she had thought prudent to abandon, she would be forced to recognize in her turn the Germanic hegemony. Nobody in Germany had any doubt of the near realization of this program.

**Condition of opinion in France.—Appearances.**

— In France the declaration of war created the impression of a thunder bolt from a serene sky. President Poincaré did not reach Paris until the 27th of July, after having shortened his princely visits. Viviani, minister of Foreign Affairs, who accompanied the President, had been unable to direct in person the final negotiations. Two civilians occupied the ministries of War and Navy, where the competency of specialists seemed more than ever indispensable. The elections of 1914 had given an imposing majority to the Radicals and Socialists, too many of whom were favorable to antimilitary propaganda. The army was regarded with suspicion, even the fine army of Morocco, which was covering itself with glory under Gen. Lyautey. The acquittal of Mme. Caillaux after the scandal of a famous trial threatened to renew the agitation of the public, just as at the time of the Dreyfus affair. The "All-Paris" of the snobs, which in the eyes of foreigners passes as real France, had never been more frivolous. As for the chief directors of French socialism, they betook themselves to Brussels the 24th of July, and promised the German Socialists

to start an upheaval in France, if they (the German Socialists) kept their promise to oppose the Kaiser's war with strikes and obstructions. Thus the decomposition of French society — perhaps even revolution — seemed at hand. The "hereditary enemy" appeared to be on the point of crumbling away, without combatting.

**The reality.**— Chimerical hopes of the pangermanists, these, which were to cost Germany dearly! Her spies had failed to understand the generous ardors of the new generation of Frenchmen, who had long vibrated to the appeals of Déroulède and the *League of Patriots*; who had been carrying on their military education in the picturesque groups of boy-scouts, in gymnastic societies and in others meant as a preparation for the army; who followed with passion the new sports of the automobile and the aeroplane. The leaders of these ardent youths had practised the life of a soldier in our beautiful colonial domain, at the side of Joffre, Marchand, Gouraud, Mangin, or had trained themselves in our great military school, learning from men like Bonnal and Langlois — to speak only of the dead. The instant that the tocsin gave the signal of mobilization, France, even to her most humble communes, rose as one man to repel the German menace.

**Mobilization. The Sacred Union.**— All Frenchmen in good health from twenty to forty-eight years of age were called to arms. The youth of France



marched as with a single heart, resolved to do their duty, even to the point of death, to save the motherland and liberty. Jaurès, the leader of the Socialists, having been assassinated by a fanatic, The French Chambers, in their meeting of August 4, condemned the crime unanimously and proclaimed the *sacred union*. All measures of public safety were voted by acclamation: the recall to the army of the old "classes," the launching of formidable loans, the putting in state of siege of all the territory of the Republic and its colonies. The details of mobilization had been fixed with perfect precision by the Great General Staff, and were carried into execution without a hitch. The administration had prepared everything — equipment, armament — and the transportation of the immense masses of men took place with a regularity which was of good augury. There were no cries of: "On to Berlin!" such as had been uttered in 1870, but on every face was virile resolution, and in every heart firm decision.

**The German army.**— The German army was the main-spring of the government and its great national strength. The empire owed its creation to the army, and relied on it alone for the maintenance of its power. The army had been brought to perfection by the operation of numerous laws. Beginning with 1899, obligatory service had been imposed on every German in good health from the age of eighteen to forty-five.

Two or three years in the active army, according to the branch of the service, were imposed; then eight or seven years in the reserve, twelve in the *landwehr* and seven in the *landsturm*, carried one from the age of eighteen or twenty to forty or forty-five. The laws of 1911-1913 had brought the effectives in time of peace to 860,000 soldiers, with an extra budget of a billion, which permitted the deposit of 500 millions as reserve added to the military chest of Spandau. As for war-footing, Germany boasted of being able to put in line one-tenth of her population, in other words, nearly seven millions of soldiers of all arms. All of these forces were in the hands of the chief of the Empire. It was he who fixed the number of troops under arms and the contingents to be furnished by the different States. It was he who, by general inspection, verified the condition of the troops and the execution of his orders. Each soldier pledged himself to obedience to the Emperor by the oath of the flag. This army was instructed with the utmost care by its 110,000 non-commissioned officers — professional soldiers — and was equipped with the most perfected means of combat, from the heaviest cannon, capable of bombarding places more than 100 kilometers distant, to the machine-gun, a very deadly arm in attacks and hand to hand fights — from incendiary grenades to asphyxiating gases and liquid flames, whose atrocious effects they were not slow in revealing to the Allies.

**German concentration on the Belgian frontier.—**

Between the 3rd and the 15th of August, Germany was able to concentrate on the frontiers of Belgium and France 1,350,000 combatants, in other words, 34 army corps distributed in eight armies. The First Army, under von Kluck, was to march on Louvain from Aix la Chapelle. The Second, under von Buelow, was to march from Aix la Chapelle toward Huy, going up the Meuse. The Third, under von Hausen, from Malmédy to Dinant. The Fourth, under the Duke of Wurtemberg, was in échelon along the Ardennes. The Crown-Prince Frederick-William marched at the head of the Fifth Army from Trèves toward Longwy. The Sixth, under Crown-Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, occupied the sector Delme-Cirey. The Seventh, under von Heeringen, kept watch on the Vosges, and the eighth, under von Deimling, took charge of upper Alsace. All of these chiefs were princes or noblemen. The bourgeois and the intellectuals were excluded from the upper grades in this army, which remained entirely feudal. The petty German nobles and the faithful Junkers of Prussia still formed a military privileged caste.

**The French army.—**The French army was not a machine so scientifically mounted, with impeccable wheels, nor, above all, was it so abundantly equipped. It was composed of only three contingents of active forces, of which but one had more than a year's pres-

ence under the colors; it possessed none the less reserves which were solid and well trained. Non-commissioned officers who had reënlisted were not numerous. The officers who had been recruited by competition came, for the most part, from the great military schools, and birth played no part in their selection. There is less of tradition and of the science of manœuvres in the democratic French army, which is the exact image of the nation, but more initiative and a discipline less brutal and more intelligent. The French soldier remains capable of all heroism, as long as he loves his chiefs and feels himself well commanded. Unfortunately, the army had absolutely no heavy artillery. It had only 2,500 machine-guns to oppose the 50,000 of the Germans. The use of engines of destruction prohibited by the conventions of the Hague would have been considered by the French as an abandonment of all the chivalrous traditions of the race. The soldiers had to adapt themselves to new conditions, through knowledge which they quickly acquired on the field of battle, and the government had to make use of a methodic organization of all branches of the service which had not been foreseen or which had not been sufficiently developed.

**French concentration toward the Rhine.**—Trusting in the neutrality of Belgium, our war committees had kept no fortresses in good condition of resistance, except those on the East. Belfort and Epinal, Toul

and Verdun, surrounded by their lines of detached forts, formed a redoubtable defense on all the open roads of invasion from our eastern frontier, which was the sole vulnerable frontier, since it was not protected by any buffer State, such as Switzerland, Luxemburg or Belgium. It was therefore on the East that our concentration took place, and it was there that the first engagements occurred. At first, the most that France could do was to put in line 800,000 men, grouped in six armies: the Army of Alsace, under Gen. Pau, who was proud of having lost a hand in 1870; the First Army of Lorraine, under Dubail, held the frontier from Lunéville to St. Dié; the Second Army of Lorraine, under Castelnau, reached as far as the river Seille; the Third and Fourth Armies, the one commanded by Ruffey at Longuyon, the other commanded by Langle de Cary at Sedan, defended the gap of the Ardennes; the Fifth Army, under Lanrezac, held the gap of the Sambre from Rocroi to Fourmies. The English Army, still small in numbers (only 60,000 men), but great in courage, took position on the extreme left, from Fourmies to Maubeuge.

The Belgians, who numbered 117,000, were unable to resist the formidable German rush: all they could do was to retard it. In answer to the appeal of their young sovereign, Albert, they sacrificed themselves to defend the motherland and save their honor. Europe will always be grateful to them for having, by their

complete sacrifice, given time to the peoples of the Entente to arm themselves against German barbarity.

**The sudden attack through Belgium.— Battle of Charleroi.**— German regiments crossed the Belgian



frontier as early as the 3rd of August. At Visé, Andenne, Diest, Aerschot, Tirlemont, and, especially at Dinant, they inaugurated their method by massacring inoffensive civilians, by burning houses and edifices systematically. They imagined that terror would shorten the war: "Let us be cruel!" such were their

instructions. Liège, although well defended by Gen. Liman, surrendered under the explosions of the heavy German artillery (August 17). The library of the University of Louvain, one of the oldest and richest in Europe, was burned. Brussels was occupied the 20th of August. At the same time, another German army, having gone up the Meuse, besieged Namur and threw back the French (who had entered Belgium *at the request of the Belgian government*) from Dinant to Charleroi. Here was fought the first great battle, from the 20th to the 24th of August. The armies of Marshal French and of Generals Lanrezac, de Langle de Cary and Ruffey displayed without success the most brilliant valor. We captured and lost Charleroi five times, but our losses were enormous. The English retreated along the line Maubeuge-Bavai, the French along the line Beaumont-Givet, by the river Semoy. The last attempt to defend the French frontier took place at Virton, where Gen. Sarraill made a brilliant beginning. Namur capitulated. The entire province was put to sack; the inhabitants were driven like cattle from their pillaged houses, which were then destroyed; prisoners were shot *en masse*, by order of Gen. von Dreich. All Brabant, the whole region of Sambre-et-Meuse was in the possession of the Germans; their rush was going to press on into France.

**The rush toward Paris.—**Joffre generalissimo.—The French generalissimo, Joffre, one of our most



ALSACE



experienced colonial officers, who at his début had given Timbuctoo to France, possessed all the qualities of a great French leader — authority which commands respect, kindness which draws all hearts, art of choosing and attracting to him his subordinates, imperturbable *sang froid* combined with a very accurate knowledge of all things pertaining to war. No outside intervention interfered with his orders, and the confidence and abnegation of his corps commanders assured the execution of his orders to the fullest degree. He had absolute confidence in the valiance of his soldiers, and, without exposing them uselessly, he never appealed in vain to their spirit of sacrifice. They called him familiarly “grandpa.” Both those at the front and those “back home” had full confidence in him.

The French general staff had prepared an offensive toward the Rhine, and it had to ward off a rush on Paris coming through Belgium and following the valley of the Oise. Except Maubeuge, all the strongholds of the North had been disaffected. It was necessary to improvise overnight a new plan of campaign, or at least a new concentration, for all hypotheses of attack had been studied in the Superior War College.

**Change of front.**— Before the battle of Charleroi, forays had been made in Alsace and Lorraine, to retain as many German troops as possible in the East. The first entrance into Mulhouse of our protecting troops from Belfort aroused lively hopes which were not

followed by results. They had to return almost immediately to the point of departure. But Dubail succeeded in retaking the range of the Vosges as far as Mt. Donon, this range having been abandoned under orders on the eve of the declaration of war. Between the 14th and the 19th of August, Gen. Pau brought the French colors to Mulhouse a second time and occupied southern Alsace clear to the Rhine. At the same time a more serious attack was carried out by Gen. de Castelnau in annexed Lorraine, beyond Château-Salins. Deadly combats took place from Morhange to Sarrebourg. But the French were stopped by the formidable defenses of the Sarre, they were riddled by the heavy artillery of the forts of Metz, threatened with envelopment by the German army of Alsace and forced to retire from both slopes of the Vosges. They retained in Alsace only Massevaux, Thann and the high valley of the Fecht, places from which they were not to be driven. Castelnau saved Nancy, by organizing solidly the defense of the *Grand-Couronné* between Nancy and Lunéville. But Gerbéviller, Nomény, Etain—to cite only the best known of the martyred cities of French Lorraine—were treated with the same ferocity as those of Belgium—everywhere massacre or slavery for the unfortunate population of the invaded territory, everywhere destruction of their dwellings by fire.

**The retreat by échelons.**—The Germans not hav-

ing been able to draw the French into the Belgian trap by forcing them to leave their strong position in the East, wished at least, through an invasion by forced marches, to pounce on Paris, deprived of its defenders. They hoped to apply their usual tactics of envelopment, by outstripping all the French corps, which were concentrated too far to the east. Joffre divined their projects as if he had been present at their councils, and ordered a strategic retreat by échelons, which would retard their march and permit him to reconstitute a sufficiently large offensive mass, by uniting all the armies already on foot with forces withdrawn from Alsace and the new armies of Generals Foch and Maunoury.

By vigorous resistance, Longwy held up numerous German forces until the 26th of August, and Maubeuge similarly until the 3rd of September. But Roubaix, Tourcoing, Lille, the richest cities in the North, were occupied without resistance. At Cambrai, Bapaume, Guise and St. Quentin violent battles were fought with the aid of Gen. d'Amade at Arras and the new army of Maunoury in the Santerre. But the brave soldiers received, without knowing why, the invariable order to retire. The army of Ruffey, which had passed under the command of Gen. Sarrail, retreated unbeaten along the Meuse, from Stenay to the northern approaches of Verdun. The Germans, without suspecting it, had lost the initiative. Joffre, incapable of yielding to

any sentimental impulse, was manœuvring them as he wished and securing for himself the necessary freedom of action. He was drawing the troops of the new Attila into the plains of Châlons, where he intended to defeat them.



SITUATION OF THE ARMIES SEPTEMBER 5, 1914

**Gallieni at Paris. The government of national defense at Bordeaux.**—Paris felt itself seriously menaced. The 26th of August, a government of national defense was formed. Viviani retained the presidency of the Cabinet, with Briand as minister of Justice, Millerand minister of War, Delcassé minister

of Foreign Affairs, Ribot minister of Finance. In order to cement the sacred union, two Socialists, Sembat and Jules Guesde, entered the cabinet. Gallieni became Governor of Paris and promised to defend it to the very last. These ministers, coming from all poles of the political horizon and possessing in most cases indubitable merit, inspired confidence. But when the Germans had reached Compiègne and Soissons and Creil, when the *Tauben* commenced to fly over the capital, the government decided to put itself beyond the danger of a raid. On the 2nd of September, it removed to Bordeaux with the Parliament, the ministries and all the important officers of administration. Unfortunately Bordeaux soon took on a festive air, through the arrival of seekers after power and hordes of impudent middle-men demanding exorbitant prices. The ministers were obliged to accept all offers with their eyes closed, so great was the need. There was much inevitable waste and some dishonesty, later punished with just severity.

Gallieni, with feverish haste, completed by material he obtained from the military depositories the formation of the new army of Maunoury and put Paris in a condition of defense. It was known that the Germans had vowed to annihilate the city.

**Castelnau at the Grand-Couronné of Nancy.**—Already the Germans in their mad rush had reached the Aisne by the 1st of September and the Marne the

3rd. The Kaiser was hurling the entire army of the Kronprinz with 400 heavy cannon into an assault against the positions which protected Nancy, where he had said in boast that he would make a triumphal entry on the anniversary of the battle of Sedan. He met the implacable tenacity of Castelnau, strongly entrenched in the works of the *Grand-Couronné*. This general disposed of some good artillery (75's and Remailhos),<sup>1</sup> and he was energetically supported on his right by the Army of the Vosges and on his left by the army of Sarrail and the forts of Verdun. Between Pont-à-Mousson and Dombasle the Germans left on the field of battle nearly 40,000 dead (August 31st to September 9th). Joffre, however, having confidence in the solidity of the works of the *Grand-Couronné*, had left there only a small number of troops, detaching from that region and hurrying to the Marne all the men he could.

The Germans had arrived at less than forty kilometres from Paris. None the less, the German general staff did not dare to risk an advance on the capital before it had put *hors de combat* the powerful army of Joffre, which would have been able to take the Germans on the flank. The capture of cities does not count in military science. The destruction of armies can alone destroy the resistance of an enemy. Kluck,

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the war, the French possessed a cannon called Remailho 155. It was a short cannon for rapid firing.

who commanded the German right wing, which was given the task of enveloping the French forces, thought that the capitulation of Joffre would soon be followed by that of Paris. On the 4th of September the German columns were marching south-east, with the evident intention of enveloping the entire French army.

**The order of the day of September 6th.**— Thus the Germans themselves offered Joffre the chance of an offensive which he had been waiting for throughout the manœuvre of his victorious retreat. The 6th of September he issued his forever memorable order of the day: "At the moment when is about to begin the battle on which depends the salvation of the country, the time has passed for looking behind us. Every effort must be made to attack and hurl back the enemy. Troops which find themselves unable longer to advance, will at any cost hold the positions they have conquered and will die on the spot, rather than retreat." All hearkened to this ringing appeal. Officers and soldiers vied with each other in abnegation and valor to win victory. More than 900,000 Germans launched, for six days, furious attacks against 700,000 French and 60,000 English, along a front whose points of support were Paris and Verdun — such was the battle of the Marne, a veritable battle of giants, whose result was to save Paris and the world.

**Battle of the Marne.**— The army of Maunoury,

formed by the efforts of Gallieni and reinforced by 8,000 Tunisian and Moroccan zouaves, who were transported to the battle of the Ourcq in a few hours by automobile, drove back Kluck on the west at Nanteuil-le-Haudoin, with the same success that Castelnau had enjoyed in stopping the Kronprinz on the east. The heroic fighting of the English under Field Marshal French on the Big and Little Morin Rivers; the march of Franchet d'Espérey (who had replaced Lanrezac) from Esternay toward Montmi-rail; the decisive action of Foch with the new army, formed of the magnificent 20th corps and the troops withdrawn from the Vosges, which, at Fère-Champe-noise, enlarged a point of rupture skilfully made between the Saxons of von Hausen and the Wurtemburgers and later drowned the Prussian Guard in the marshes of St. Gond; the successful advance of the army of Langle de Cary from Sermaise towards Re-vigny, strongly supported by demonstrations from the army of Verdun — such are the principal episodes of those glorious days for which the foresight of the supreme chief had prepared everything, days when the cohesion and singleness of purpose of his lieutenants showed themselves supreme, when the indomitable valor of his soldiers triumphed over all obstacles. By the 12th of September, the German armies had retreated from 75 to 100 kilometers, as far as Soissons and St. Menehould. Paris was saved, thanks to the



spirit of sacrifice and the determination to conquer of the children of France.

However magnificent this success, it should have been pushed home. But the troops were very tired and lacked ammunition. The pursuit relaxed. The Germans, installed on the two banks of the Aisne, still had hope of renewing the march on Paris. It now became necessary to drive them north of the Aisne, dispute their possession of Picardy, the Artois and Flanders, and stop them in their race for the sea, toward Calais and Dunkirk. Three new French armies were formed, under orders of General de Maud'huy, d'Urbal and de Castelnau (the last named having been transferred to the North). The English army grew larger. The German army also received reinforcements from the army corps of Heeringen, left free by the surrender of Maubeuge. It disposed of 1,800,000 men, with all the heavy artillery, which they had been unable to transport to the Marne, but which was going to render so powerful the German defense north of the Aisne.

**Battle of the Aisne.**—The battle of the Aisne (September 9–30) continued that of the Marne. Gen. de Maud'huy, despite the vigor of his attacks, did not succeed in carrying the plateau of Craonne. But Franchet d'Espérey forced the Germans to retire to the east of Rheims at Souain, at the butte of Mesnil and at the Main de Massiges. The Germans, to their

eternal shame, took vengeance by the odious bombardment of Rheims, and they riddled with incendiary bombs the admirable cathedral which was the cradle of the French nation. On the French left, they multiplied their efforts to break the liaison between the English army and that of Maunoury. They even entered Compiègne. For the first time, allied troops really faced the heavy German artillery, and, in the presence of its formidable blows, the seventy-five remained powerless by reason of its shorter range. However, important reinforcements reached Castelnau and the battle of the Somme began. Compiègne was recaptured; there were battles at Lassigny, Roye, Péronne, Arras (September 30–October 20). At last de Maud'huy hurled the Germans back in Flanders.

**The fall of Antwerp.**— This was the moment when the fall of Antwerp seemed likely to give over all of Belgium to the Kaiser. Antwerp had a belt of detached forts at a great distance, which made of the city a fortified position of the first order. But how could they resist the frightful effects of the fire of cannon of 420 millimeters, supported by a besieging force of 120,000 men? By the 28th of September the detached forts fell successively; the city itself, despite the courage of its defenders, yielded the fourth day of the attack. The garrison, however, reinforced at the last hour by an English division and a brigade of heroic French marine fusileers, succeeded in slipping along

by way of the Scheldt and the coast, through Gand, to the region of Nieuport and Ypres. The Belgian army and noble King Albert clung desperately to this last corner of the Belgian motherland, which the Kaiser never succeeded in snatching from them.



SITUATION OF THE ARMIES IN OCTOBER, 1914

**Battle of the Yser.**— From this moment, the battle of Flanders succeeded the battle of the Somme; it is also called the *battle of the Yser*, because it was fought on the banks of this little stream from Nieuport to Ypres. Foch, who was executing a prelude to his future rôle as generalissimo, was put at the head of a



group of three armies, which included the army of Gen. D'Urbal with the 6,000 marine fusileers of Admiral Ronarc'h. By the side of the Admiral, the English Army under orders of Marshal French and Generals Rawlinson and Douglas Haig, supported by 82,000 Belgians of King Albert, resisted victoriously all the efforts of the Germans. The Kaiser had boasted that he would enter Ypres the 1st of November and would there proclaim the annexation of Belgium, after which he would take Calais. Hard fought battles took place from Nieuport to Dixmude, all along the canal of the Yser. The inundations caused by the opening of the sluices stopped the march of the Germans. At Dixmude, 6,000 French marine fusileers repelled in a single night fourteen attacks from 45,000 Germans. At Ypres, in their long effort, lasting from October 25 to November 15, the Germans were no more successful. They avenged themselves with the same savagery as at Rheims, by bombarding the Market Place of Ypres. On several critical occasions, the French corps commanders Dubois, Balfourier, Humbert, saved the English, who had risked themselves too rashly. Beginning with the 15th of November, the German attacks weakened. Calais was saved, and King Albert retained the little corner of his country. The victory of the Yser, determined by the intelligent plans of Joffre and Foch, which were brilliantly exe-

cuted by their lieutenants, was the final prolongation of the battle of the Marne.

**Declaration of the 4th of September, 1914.**—Trials endured in common had drawn closer the bonds of the Triple Entente. On the 4th of September, 1914, there was signed at London a declaration of the highest importance: "The governments of Great Britain, France and Russia pledge one another mutually not to conclude a separate peace during the present war. The three governments agree that, when there arises an occasion to discuss the terms of peace, no one of the allied powers shall be qualified to pose conditions of peace without having come to a preliminary understanding with each of the other allied nations." This is the first agreement of the society of nations arrayed against Germany.

## CHAPTER V

### EASTERN FRONT — SERBIA AND RUSSIA (1914–1916)

The eastern front at first included only Serbia and Russia. In Serbia the Austrians attacked alone and were vanquished. In Poland the Germans were face to face with the Russian masses. The campaigns commenced with brilliant successes of the latter, which were followed by painful retreats. The Russians had fought in the same manner long ago in the Seven Years War — victors over Frederick II in the spring, and forfeiting in the fall all the advantages so laboriously acquired.

**Serbia and Belgium.**— Serbia had been the occasion for the war. The Austrians planned the conquest of the country by a sudden attack, running parallel to that against Belgium. King Peter of Serbia and his army, although exhausted by the two Balkan campaigns of 1912 and 1913, resisted the attacks of the Austrians with the same sentiment of honor that inspired the Belgians. Their resistance was longer and more successful, since the country of Serbia, bristling with mountains, was more easy to defend than the







plains of Belgium, and the Austrians were less redoubtable adversaries than the Germans.

**Defeats of the Austrians in Serbia.**— By the 28th of July the bombardment of Belgrade had begun, and the place was quickly made untenable. Nevertheless, Belgrade was not occupied by the Austrians until the first fortnight of December. The Austrian general, Potiorek, had planned a double attack, to be carried out on the Save and the Drina and had hoped to seize the rich Matchva plain where the two rivers meet and to drive the Serbians back toward their capital, Kragujevatz. Twice the Serbians repelled this invasion by their valiant resistance. The second time, they in their turn invaded Bosnia, reaching as far as the vicinity of Sarajevo. But the Austrians tried a third attack with considerable reinforcements, and this time the Serbians began a lamentable retreat as far as Mt. Rudnik. There, in sight of their capital, the Serbians recovered the advantage by a magnificent effort. The Austrians in their flight even evacuated Belgrade (September–December, 1914). The heir to the throne, Prince Alexander of Serbia, and the Voivod Putnick revealed themselves in this campaign, the one as a consummate leader of men, the other as a chief of staff of the highest skill.

**Double invasion of the Russians in Eastern Prussia.**— Germany thinking herself sure of crushing France in one campaign by her irresistible rush,

had left only a thin line of troops to oppose the Russians. Then, too, she counted on the slowness of the Russian mobilization, on the extreme difficulty of concentration in a country where railways were few and poorly managed. It was thought at Berlin that the Austrians, provided with an abundance of heavy artillery by their factories at Skoda, would hold the Russians in check along the whole Polish frontier, until the German troops could launch against them a serious offensive.

**Battle of Tannenberg.**— But in order to assist us, the Russians made two unexpected attacks in eastern Prussia. Rennenkampf, marching from Vilna, carried Gumbinnen in a few days and menaced Koenigsberg; Samzonof penetrated to the west of the Masurie. In order to prevent the junction of the two Russian chiefs, Hindenburg, who was thoroughly familiar with that region of lakes and marshes from having manœuvred there all his life, led Samzonof on and defeated him in the plain of Tannenberg, a battle field already famous for a victory of the Teutonic chevaliers over the Slavs. Samzonof was killed, and the Russians lost in the marshes their artillery and their equipment (August 26–29, 1914). Rennenkampf sought safety in a prompt retreat, abandoning his ephemeral conquests.

**The Russians in Galicia (1914).**— In the South, Russky and Brussiloff, profiting by the slowness of the



THE EASTERN THEATRE OF WAR (NORTHERN PART)

Austrians, beat the two Austrian armies of Generals Dankl and Auffenberg before Lvov (Lemberg), overran Galicia as far as the Wisloka and invested the strong-hold of Przemysl (28th of September). The Kaiser took advantage of these Austrian defeats to place all the Austro-German forces under the high command of Hindenburg, whom he raised to the dignity of Marshal. The aged Francis-Joseph accepted without protest this humiliation of the high Austrian command. From this moment on, unity of front was established against the Russians, and the operations of the German and Austrian armies were closely coördinated.

**Battle of the Four Rivers.**— In order to disengage the Austrians, the Germans formed two immense masses of attack, and invaded Russian Poland, the one by the north, under the orders of Hindenburg, the other by the south under the command of Mackensen. These two armies united near Lodz, with the intention of enveloping the Russians, but they were themselves surrounded by the Russians as a result of a series of furious combats, called *The Battles of the Four Rivers* (Bzura, Rawka, Pilica, Nida). Sensational newsmongers were already hinting at the capitulation of the German army, when the report came that it had succeeded in cutting a way out to the north. Was this due to culpable inaction of Rennenkampf, or to something worse? At any event, the German attacks

against the Russian lines of the Four Rivers broke down at the same moment as against the French lines of the Yser (close of November, 1914). As for the Austrians, defeated at Lowicz, Bochnia and Tarnov and driven from Czernowitz (November 25), they met reverse after reverse. As a result of this severe campaign of 1914, there was general exhaustion. Winter having come on, fighting was restricted to the two extremities of the line, that is, about the lakes of the Masurie and on the slopes of the Carpathians.

**Internal difficulties of Russia.**—The campaign of 1915 was attended by similar ups and downs. The "steam roller" which was expected to crush the Germans as far as Berlin, did not even succeed in getting started. Mobilization made no progress. A lack of munitions began to make itself felt; the railways gave a poorer service than ever; the German party at court triumphed, thanks to the Czarina, under the inspiration of a mystic fanatic, the abject Rasputin. By the side of leaders of high intelligence and great courage, such as the Grand Duke Nicholas, Brussilof, Russky, Kornilof and other real Slavs, were some high personages deserving suspicion, such as Rennenkampf, or convicted of treason, such as Col. Manuilof and the minister of war, Sukhomlinov. These personages paralyzed operations by their culpable plots in the interior of the country. Nicholas II was very jealous of his absolute power, and systematically rejected all

action by the Duma. He bestowed his confidence only on avowed tools of autocracy. He did not even know how to win the heart of the Poles by firm promises of autonomy and liberty. He remained faithful to the Franco-English alliance, but continued to govern in a way that did violence to the opinions and the most enlightened sentiment of his subjects.

**Surrender of Przemyśl.**—In 1915 the Russians had to combat 850,000 Germans and 800,000 Austro-Hungarians, constantly reinforced. The Russians themselves manœuvred with formidable armies. Hindenburg, in the north, suddenly threatened Warsaw. The Russians saved the great Polish capital by the two victories of Borjimof and Prasnysch (February, 1915). Against the Austrians in the south they penetrated in the snows as far as the ridge of the Carpathians, and threatened a triumphant descent into Hungary. Przemyśl, whose resistance had held Europe in suspense for four months, capitulated (March, 1915) with 120,000 men and 1050 pieces of artillery.

**Mackensen in Galicia. Retreat of Grand Duke Nicholas.**—In order to save her faithful Hungarians and also in the hope of crushing the Russians in a single victorious campaign, Germany placed five armies under the orders of Mackensen, who was determined to sacrifice "all the human material" necessary to conquer. His phalanx of twelve army corps, in which

were included the Austrian troops of Archduke Joseph, defeated the Russians on the shores of the Donajec, seized the line of the Wisloka and the passages of the Carpathians, forced the Russians to evacuate Przemysl and Lemberg and threw them back to the Dniester. The Russians were now receiving contingents which were barely armed. Their munitions arrived via Archangel, 2000 kilometers from the battle fields! None the less, Grand Duke Nicholas inflicted enormous losses on the Germans, who continued pressing on slowly but surely. His retreat was a model of skilful calculation and tenacious resistance.

**Retreat of Russky. Capitulation of the strongholds in the North.**—The Russians carried out the same tactics of retreat with stubborn defense of each échelon in Poland, under the heavy thrust of Hindenburg. They evacuated successively Ivangorod, Lublin, Cholm; on the 5th of August Prince Leopold of Bavaria entered Warsaw. In vain Russky disputed foot by foot the line of the Narev. It was necessary to organize a general retreat, the army directing the sad exodus of the population with their provisions and material, leaving the desert behind them as in 1812. The fortresses of Kovno, Ossowiecz and Brest-Litovsk surrendered, after having exhausted their feeble means of resistance; it was a veritable shower of fallen cities. By the close of August, 1915, the Russians had lost twelve strongholds, of which four



were great modern fortresses. It is true, Russky succeeded in saving his army, although it underwent severe hardships. The Russians were pushed back to the line of the Duna and the marshes of Pripet. Poland, Lithuania and Courland were in the hands of the enemy (August, 1915).

**Campaign of 1916.**—The Russian winter caused a delay in hostilities, without suspending them. As in the preceding year, military activity was paralysed everywhere, except at the two extremities of the line. The Russians defended themselves with energy on the Duna from Riga to Dvinsk (Dünaburg) and in the marshes of Pripet along the line of the Styr and the Strypa. The year 1916 was also marked in Russia by attempts at reorganization. The production of the mines and war factories was increased; the construction of the railway from the Murman coast toward the ever-open ports of the Arctic Ocean was carried on rapidly to hasten the arrival of munitions at Archangel; the line of the Transsiberian was made a double-track line as far as Lake Baikal, in order to increase the supply of munitions sent to Vladivostok from Japan and Canada.

**Offensive of Brussiloff. Sudden stop.**—In order to relieve the congestion on the western front, Brussiloff undertook again, from June to September, 1916, a powerful offensive in Volhynia and Bukowina, on the line of the Styr, the Stokhod and the Strypa. In

this glorious campaign the Russians took more than 400,000 prisoners and put *hors de combat* nearly a million Austrians. It is true that in the ranks of the Austrians were a large number of Slavs, who had been enrolled by force and who only awaited a favorable occasion to surrender. It was these same prisoners, who, crowded into Russian prisons, formed later in the interior of Russia and even in Siberia the excellent legions of the Czecho-Slovacs. It would have been possible to carry Brussiloff's success further, but the Russian advance stopped suddenly in September, on the fallacious pretext that the weather had become unfavorable. The ministers who constituted the powerful society about the Czar arranged the sabotage of provisions and munitions and prepared to give over Rumania without succor to German occupation. Austria, abandoned by her Slavs, was once more saved, less by the aid of the Germans than by the treason of the principal advisors of the Czar.

**Germans and Bulgarians in Serbia.**—The army of Mackensen, relieved of all fear on the Russian side, whirled around against unfortunate Serbia and brought about the submission of that generous little people, whom the Austrians had been unable to reduce. Even then, to consummate its ruin, the Bulgarian forces had to be called in. The sly and perfidious Ferdinand could not forgive the Serbians and Greeks for having deprived him of Macedonia, as a

sequel to his treachery of 1913. He formed an alliance with Germany. King Constantine of Greece, won over to the German cause by the Queen, a sister of the Kaiser, refused to assist the Serbians, despite the treaty of alliance of 1912. Serbia found herself crushed as in a vice between the Germans, who poured into the country through Belgrade (October, 1915), and marched up the course of the Morava, and the Bulgarians, who, masters of Vranja, Uskup and Monastir, pushed the Serbians back into Albania. Aged King Peter, who had fought the campaign of 1870 under the French flag, refused to leave his faithful troops, and accompanied them riding in an ox cart. An expeditionary corps of French and English, sent too late in aid of the Serbians, had to content itself with strongly occupying Saloniki, in order to keep a front in the Balkan regions. The Serbian army, although severely tried, was able to embark at Corfu on French vessels and reach Saloniki (October-December, 1915).

**Devastation of Serbia.**—Serbia was lost. Given over to the Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians, she fell a prey to the same devastations as Belgium and the invaded regions in France, and her population was treated with the same ferocity. As for the cities of Grecian Macedonia, now delivered by the allied army of Saloniki, their population had been deported *en masse* to do servile labor. In 1918 the few hundreds

of inhabitants who had not allowed themselves to be snatched away from their homes ran to meet their deliverers — a lot of haggard, staggering creatures, almost fleshless from three years' famine. The rich Serbian villages of the valleys of the Vardar and the Morava, where grew fine crops and where fattened numerous droves of pigs, were now nothing but desolate solitudes. A few rare survivors crept out of foul lairs — old men, women, children (the strong men were with the army), spectres barely alive, clad in rags. That is what the Bulgarians made of Serbia — a desert emptied of its inhabitants. The Bulgarian is the worthy disciple of the German: "We should leave the vanquished only their eyes with which to weep. Moderation would be weakness." (Nau-  
mann.) In Serbia we see the application of a system which had been carefully thought out.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISTANT THEATERS OF WAR—IN THE ORIENT—ON THE SEA AND IN THE COLONIES

**Extension of the war.**—The great war spreads rapidly beyond the French and Russian fronts. It reaches Turkey, with all the Oriental world of Islam. It anchors itself in the Balkans, where Bulgaria goes over to the predatory powers. It finds lodgement in the high valleys of the Alps of the Trentino and the Carnia, when Italy thinks that the moment has come to take her place by the side of the nations of honor. Finally, in the very beginning, the implacable struggle extends across the oceans, to the most distant colonies. Everywhere the German flag is pursued and shot down. The Entente preserves the uncontested control of the sea.

**The Turkish Empire and the dream of German hegemony.**—The military hegemony which the Turks have exercised in the Orient since the fifteenth century has remarkable analogies with that which Germany dreamed of imposing on the world. The Turkish rule was based on the forces of the *Janissaries* and the militaristic cast of the *Timarlis*, or possessors of fiefs.

The Turks, like the Germans, had wanted to be a people of *masters*; they had, by the sword, fire and slavery, terrorized the conquered races and imposed on them the most abject servitude. But what was possible in the fifteenth century is no longer so in the twentieth. Then, too, the Turkish power had gone down rapidly by reason of the corruption which a prolonged abuse of power necessarily involves. Beginning with the seventeenth century, the Turks had been attacked by all the Christians who dared to raise their heads, and had seen torn away, province by province, all their domain in Europe. The Turk, as an individual, is honest and kind, but his government has been vitiated by centuries of violent and venal administration.

**The Young Turks and Germany.**—When they overthrew the Hamidian régime in the revolution of 1908, the Young Turks aroused great hopes. They wanted to endow the new State with a liberal government, founded on the equality of religions and the federation of the subject races. It was still possible for Turkey to be regenerated. But the too celebrated committee, called *Union and Progress*, soon belied its name and its origins. Power passed into the hands of Enver, of Talaat and a coterie of parvenus without sense of honor, who sold out to Germany, a thing which had never been done by even Abdul Hamid, their victim. The German ambassador, Marshal von Biberstein, continued to reign over the Bosphorus; and,



SALONIKI AND GALLIPOLI

on the eve of the war, the German general Liman von Sanders was put at the head of the army of Constantinople. Turkey was again becoming a German fief. The Young Turks "of the second batch" had absolute confidence in the triumph of the Germans.

**Turkey at war. The Holy War receives a check.**—Two German cruisers, the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, had opened the naval war by bombarding the Algerian port of Bona. They found a refuge at Constantinople, and the government of the Young Turks went through the form of buying them, without changing their German crews, instead of obliging them to leave the harbor within twenty-four hours in accordance with the rules of maritime law. It even happened soon that these same two cruisers bombarded the Russian ports of Odessa and Novo-Rossisk (August-October, 1914). The Entente thus saw itself forced to declare war on Turkey (November 3, 1914). It was in vain that the Kaiser had the Holy War proclaimed in all the countries of Islam. Here again his calculation was deceived, for the Mussulmen of India and Egypt remained faithful to the English, and similarly French subjects in Algeria and Tunisia, in all black Africa and even in Morocco—this last country having been far from completely subdued on the eve of the war—rivalled each other in showing loyalty to France, whom they knew to be their benefactress. The Arabs revolted against the Turks and

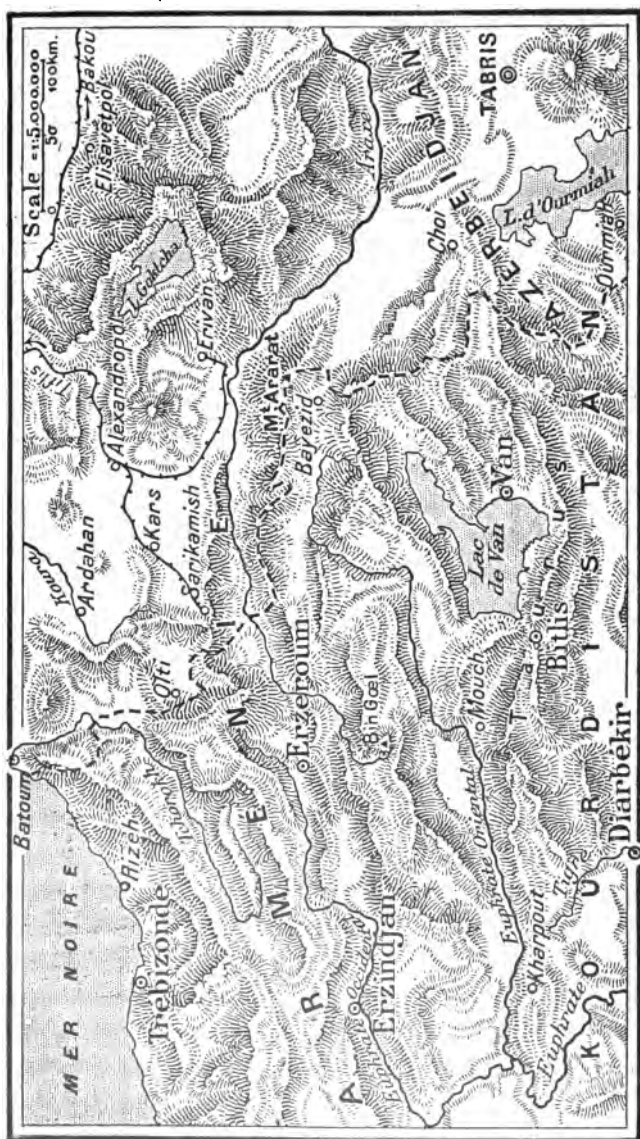


set up Hussein, the Cheriff of Mecca and the true successor of Mahomet, in opposition to the Sultan of Constantinople, who was the false commander of the faithful. Hussein took the title of King of Hedjaz, put at the service of the Entente the prestige of the sacred cities, and grouped under the standard of the Prophet all pure believers in Islam.

**Expedition of the Dardanelles (1915).—**The expedition of the Dardanelles was organized against the Turks, to strike them in the very heart of their empire. A difficult expedition it was, and it came either too late — since we could have taken Constantinople in August by hurrying the allied fleets in pursuit of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* — or too early, for it was not sufficiently prepared. German engineers had time to put in state of defense the whole peninsula of Gallipoli, by utilizing especially the forts Napoleon and Victoria, which had been built in the peninsula of Boulair at the time of the Crimean War. There was rivalry in energy and fine endurance between the allied fleet under the orders of the English admiral, Carden, to whom had been assigned the French admiral, Guépratte, and the expeditionary forces, commanded successively by Generals Sir Ian Hamilton and Munro for the English, and d'Amade, Gouraud and Bailloud for the French (February 25, 1915 — January 9, 1916). At first the fleet tried to force the passage, but the *Bouvet*, the *Irresistible* and the *Ocean* were

sunk in the narrow gullet of the Dardanelles by the heavy artillery of the coast defenses.

Then the Allies tried the difficult operation of disembarking. The English landed on the European shore at Sed-el-Bahr, and the French at Kum-Kale, on the Asiatic coast, a position which was abandoned almost immediately. Despite prolonged efforts, the Allies could not get beyond the approaches of Krithia and the Bay of Sula. The Turks resisted fiercely in their formidable defenses, which dominated the coast from an altitude of 1600 meters and enfiladed the entire pass. The English lost there several of their finest units, fighting the *Majestic* and the *Triumph*. The 4th of June a costly offensive brought no new advance to the Allies. The 30th of June Gouraud had an arm blown off as he was visiting an ambulance which the German batteries, without respect for the Geneva cross, were bombarding. General Bailloud succeeded Gouraud. The enervating struggle by means of mines and attacks from trench to trench continued for six months longer. The only really salutary operation of this unfortunate campaign was the general evacuation, in the night of January 8, 1916 — a movement accomplished without attracting the attention of the German sentinels. The troops from the Dardanelles were sent to Saloniki, to be added to the expeditionary corps which had just been formed there. The English, because of not having sufficiently realized



ARMENIA

the difficulties of the enterprise, had missed their attempt on Constantinople.

**Menaces against Egypt and India.**—The Kaiser had founded great hopes on the participation of the Turks in the war. He threw them against Egypt, and the English had to put in a state of defense the approaches to the Suez canal and to repel the Turks in the peninsula of Sinai (battle of Romani, August, 1915). He also sent the Turks against the road to India, but the English, with the aid of their Indian divisions, seized Bassora (November, 1914) and Kornah at the mouth of the Tigris. This city served as a point of departure for the first Mesopotamian expedition. The English made a threatening advance toward Bagdad, but were stopped at Ctesiphon (November 22, 1915). General Townshend was surrounded at Kut-el-Amara, and, after one hundred and forty-three days of siege, was obliged to surrender to von der Goltz, the commander of the Turkish army, who showed no consideration for his noble captive. In Persia, too, the Germans tried to provoke a revolution against the English and the Russians.

**Massacres of Armenia.**—The Russians had marched into Armenia to succor the unfortunate Christian population, which was being massacred anew. In that country the scenes of carnage which had dishonored the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid were

renewed. The Kurds, who are savage tribes of poor and fierce mountaineers, were again turned loose on the pacific Armenians, who are economical farmers and well-to-do merchants. Pitiabie bands of women and old men were driven with bayonet thrusts to the slave markets. Those whom they could not feed they cast over precipices. Priests, dignitaries of the Armenian church, who encouraged their miserable flock to resist, were crucified alive. The Turkish authorities urged on the executioners and incendiaries. In this manner, Van, Bitlis, Mouch lost half or three-fourths of their population.

**The Russians in Armenia.**—Early in the beginning of the year 1915, the Russian army of the Caucasus drove the Turks out of Russian Armenia and conquered the region between the lakes of Van and Umiah. Grand Duke Nicholas, removed from the Carpathian front and invested with the command of the Army of Asia, captured Erzerum, the key to Armenia, in mid-winter, by a succession of admirable manœuvres (February, 1916). The capture of Trebizond, the principal Armenian port (April 18) compensated for the loss of Kut-el-Amara. The Russians advanced in the direction of Diarbekir and Mosul. The Germans were expelled from Persia and General Baratof occupied Hamadan and Kirmanchah, seeking to join hands with the English, who were taking up again their march toward Bagdad (1916). Henceforth the

prestige of the Turks was under a heavy cloud in all their oriental domain of Asia.

**The War on the ocean.**—The war on the ocean deceived the hopes of William II more quickly than that on the continent. None the less, he held many trumps in his hand: the central position of Germany, which permitted her to send her war vessels from the North Sea into the Baltic through the Kiel canal, without approaching the Sund; a war fleet built according to the latest rules of naval construction and equipped with the most abundant and most perfect material; a corps of officers filled to the highest degree with the spirit of fight; absolute contempt for all the rules of international law which might fetter the action of his marine. For example, the Germans sowed floating mines broadcast, while fixed mines are alone authorized by international code.

But a fleet is not improvised in a single generation, and still less are to be improvised the traditions of courage, coolness and honesty which are the glory of old maritime nations. While respecting with the most scrupulous good faith the chivalrous rules established by the conventions of the Hague, the valiant mariners of the Entente knew how to meet such tricks as the substitution of flags, the disguise of ships and all the diabolical ruses of the enemy. They were the stoical victims of the infamous methods of the German submarine warfare, without themselves ever having re-

course to them. Besides, a close coöperation of the allied navies was brought about more easily than was the case on land. The maritime superiority of England was so well established that her allies yielded to her experience and advice.

The rôle of the marine was a thankless and unselfish one. It was asked to mount guard on all the seas, and, especially, along the coast of Europe. It did this with a constance which never weakened and with admirable courage. This continuity of effort, of obscure devotion which cost the lives of so many noble men swallowed up in the depths of the ocean, had also a very high moral value. The marine of the Entente added immortal pages to its annals of glory.

**Comparison of naval forces.**—The history of the naval war is made up of events which took place all over the globe and is very difficult to follow in detail. Let us first show the superiority of the French, English and Russian fleets over the combined fleets of Germany and Austria at the opening of the war :

	Fleet of the Triple Entente	Austro- German Fleet
Dreadnoughts and battle cruisers .....	100	54
Protected cruisers, etc. ....	172	55
Torpedo boats .....	595	242
Submarines .....	166	36

The numerical superiority of the allies was incontestable. Their personnel was much superior.

Thanks to the control of the sea obtained at the very beginning of operations, the fleets of the Entente were able to assure continuous passage of English troops to France and the arrival of colonial contingents, whether they came from the English dominions of India, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, or from the French protectorates in Africa and Indo-China and from the territory of the black troops of Africa. The heroic veterans of the reserves of the French territorial army (called the R. A. T.), went to Morocco to replace the Moroccan contingents, who played such a splendid part in the French ranks.

**The pursuit of the German merchant marine.**—The pursuit of the boats which carried German commerce was carried on with success from the very beginning of the war by French and English mariners in the Atlantic and by Australian and Japanese mariners in the Pacific. In a single month the German commercial flag had disappeared. England had seized more than 200 vessels of all tonnage belonging to the German and Austrian marine, and the French about one hundred. The others hid themselves in neutral ports, especially in American ports, from which they henceforth did not dare to venture.

**Naval battles.**—The Germans armed the largest and most rapid of their merchant vessels to take the place of their war fleet, which remained prudently at anchor in its home bases. They succeeded merely



in capturing some inoffensive English merchantmen. The English protected cruisers gave chase to them and succeeded in sinking a large number. As early as August 16, the *Kronprinz Wilhelm* was captured by the *Essex*; the *Kaiser Wilhelm* was captured off the Canaries by the *High Flyer* on the 26th of August, and the *Emden* in the Indian Ocean by the *Sydney* (November 7, 1914). A serious encounter took place off the coast of Chili when a heavy sea was running. Two English vessels, the *Good Hope* and the *Monmouth*, were obliged to run ashore. But Admiral Sturdee waited at the Falkland Islands for the German squadron, which was intoxicated at a success due simply to the storm. On that memorable day three great German units, the *Scharnhorst*, the *Gneisenau* and the *Leipzig* were sunk, while the *Dresden* met the same fate at the Island of Juan Fernandez (December 8-14, 1914). Two others, the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* and the *Karlsruhe*, were interned in the harbor of Norfolk, in the United States. At the close of April, 1915, Germany had no longer afloat a single war vessel outside her harbors. After this date, she acted only through her submarines.

On three occasions the Germans again tried attacks in grand style, under cover of heavy fogs, which might permit them to surprise the adversary. They were defeated three times — at the Island of Heligoland (August 27, 1914), at the Dogger-Bank (January 24,

1915) and off the shore of Jutland, where the English Admirals Beatty and Jellicoe distinguished themselves (May, 1916). In each of these encounters, the German boats were quickly put out of action by the fire of the English artillery, and were sunk or forced to flee. From this time on, no real naval battle was fought. The Kaiser did not dare to risk on the sea his dearest treasure, his fleet.

**Maritime bombardments and aerial raids.**—The Kaiser tried unsuccessfully to have the English coast bombarded. The English harbors in the North Sea and Channel underwent several times the fire of swift German units, which fled as soon as the English coast-defense ships approached. The German zeppelins flew many times over London and the counties of the east of England, in order to spread terror in a region unapproachable from the sea. These expeditions served to destroy houses and factories, above all to sacrifice innocent victims, without attaining any military end. Thus it happened that the English had to dread equally the foggy nights, which facilitated surprises on the water, and clear nights, which were favorable to the raids of the zeppelins. The attacks of the French torpedo boats against Trieste and Pola succeeded no better. The protected cruiser *Léon-Gambetta* was torpedoed by an Austrian submarine (April 27, 1915). The artillery of Mt. Lovcen in Montenegro failed to destroy the solid defenses of

the mouths of the Cattaro. It seems proved that attacks from the sea can no longer reduce a well fortified maritime fortress.

**Blockade of Germany.**—The blockade of Germany had begun. The plan was to reduce her to famine, to restrict her supply of all former raw materials necessary for her industry, and, especially, for the running of her war factories. But how could a serious blockade be organized, when the harbors of Holland and of the Scandinavian countries remained open and favored a contraband trade profitable to all neutrals? Statistics have proved that the importation of provisions, cotton and copper into Holland and the Scandinavian countries during the years 1915 and 1916 exceeded by more than ten fold the corresponding figures before the war. It was necessary to institute searches that were humiliating to neutrals and injurious to their interests; it was necessary to declare contraband of war materials like cotton, which were not so classified in international treaties. The *orders in council* of the English admiralty came near bringing on war with the United States. Count Bernstorff, the very lively German ambassador at Washington, had the audacity to claim an analogy between the correct conduct of England in her economic blockade and that of Germany in submarine warfare.

**The submarine warfare.**—The German submarine warfare was in reality nothing but piracy. Not able

to organize massed invasion on sea, the Germans sought to sink by surprise not alone war vessels, which is permitted by international law, but also unarmed merchantmen and humble fishing boats. They soon attacked even neutral ships, under pretext that they were transporting contraband of war or even simply provisions for the belligerents. At the opening of hostilities, the Germans had few submarines and did not rely on boats of such small dimensions and such frail structure. But the operations of the submarines were of a nature to inspire a salutary terror in belligerents and neutrals. The Germans built a large number of these boats and increased constantly their tonnage, their rapidity and their means of action. They arranged supply bases for their submarines in all the neutral countries that were being terrorized — on the coast of Spain and Spanish Morocco, in the islands of the Ægean Sea, through the connivance of King Constantine, in the fjords of Norway and Chili, in Mexico. The belligerents were enclosed in a vicious circle. The Entente drew closer the blockade to force Germany to capitulate through want, while Germany pursued submarine warfare with increasing brutality, in order to destroy the hostile marines and make the sea free. The neutrals received blows from both sides, and became rich by contraband, while protesting against search and destruction of ships. But one has to admit that the Entente aimed only at articles and crude ma-

terials wrongly transported, while Germany sank vessels with their crews.

**The “*Lusitania*.”**—The list of large boats torpedoed by German submarines is interminable—the *Arabic*, the *Hesperian*, the *Caronia*, the *Lusitania*, the *Sussex*, for the English; the *Bordeaux*, the *Guatemala*, the *Suffren*, of the French marine; others, such as the *King Edward VII*, the *Natal*, struck floating mines. The torpedoing of the *Lusitania* is typical. Count Bernstorff had published threatening notices for the passengers of this steamer, which, however, was unarmed and carried no contraband of war. Twice already the German pirates had waited for the *Lusitania* without success. The 7th of May, only eight miles off the coast of Ireland, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed without a moment’s warning, without any aid being offered the unfortunate survivors. More than 1500 victims, of whom 1164 were American passengers, perished in this catastrophe. The crime aroused universal horror. The government of the United States multiplied its protests. The Kaiser caused to be issued in reply an assertion that the vessel was transporting arms and munitions, which was false; that the passengers had been warned that they were sailing at their own risk. He refused to indemnify the families of the victims, and even dared to strike a medal to commemorate the monstrous exploit; he wanted to see “how far the United States would go.” Count von Luxburg,

who represented Germany at Buenos Ayres, even dared to recommend his government, in order to avoid for the future all protests, to sink the enemy's ships "without leaving any trace," that is to say, by sending to the bottom of the ocean the crews and passengers. Such is *German cultur* in action.

**Extension of the torpedoings.**— Soon the ravages of German submarines extended to the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Submarines passed through the straits of Gibraltar. The *India* was torpedoed near Malta. The Italian vessels *Ancona* and *Firenze* blew up, as did the French ships *Fresnel* and *Ville de Ciotat*. Then a flotilla of English submarines slipped into the Baltic. It sank the German *Prinz Adalbert* near Libau. Neutral vessels were still worse treated, but only by the Germans. In the Black Sea, the Russians sank Turkish boats. The Japanese came to mount guard in the Mediterranean to facilitate the task of the allied navies.

Merchantmen, however, began to defend themselves. The 27th of January, 1916, the *La Plata* sank a hostile submarine; a little later, the *Colbert* resisted and escaped. The allies then considered arming all merchantmen; since the Germans treated them, even when unarmed, as ships of war, it was best to give them means of defense. From this time on, many of them made their aggressors pay dearly for their cowardly attacks. In order to make the neutrals think that they would succeed in forcing the blockade organized by

the Entente, the Germans conceived the stratagem of the commercial submarine. The *Deutschland* arrived in the harbor of Norfolk on the coast of the United States, declaring that it came on a commercial mission. The American government, instead of interning it as a war vessel, which it had never ceased to be, allowed it to depart with a cargo of tungsten and iridium, metals indispensable for the manufacture of certain shells (July, 1916).

**The note of January 31, 1917.**—Opinion in the United States was not yet sufficiently inclined toward war. But it was quite different after the German note of January 31, 1917, in which the Germans declared a blockade of the coasts of England, France, Italy and the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. In other words, unlimited maritime war without pity was proclaimed against neutrals who risked themselves in the blockaded zones. "The imperial government," the note added, "has decided to abolish the restrictions observed hitherto in the employment of means of combat on the ocean." Admiral von Tirpitz had promised to destroy in six months the English marine. The English marine, although seriously impaired, survived, and the United States, so long insulted by Germany, brought to the Entente the support of its immense resources.

**Attitude of the neutrals.**—A *bon mot* which defined the neutrals became famous: *neutres, pleutres*.

The neutrals were accused of thinking only about becoming rich, by selling at a high price to the belligerents all that the war prevented them from producing. This was evidently the case with many promoters, even in countries which were not neutral. The *bon mot*<sup>1</sup> is however unjust for the large nations, those strong enough to defend their honor, and even for the small peoples of Europe, who had everything to fear from a German invasion. At first, the neutrals had no doubt of the success of Germany, and considered it less dangerous to fall out with the Entente than with the Central Empires. Terrorized by the press, which the Germans had bought up, and by the cynical provocations of the representatives of Germany, who poured out gold without counting to buy all venal consciences, the neutrals feared to offend Germany in the slightest degree.

**Spain.**—The Spaniards welcomed to their harbors the German submarines, instead of interning them as war vessels, whenever a storm or some injury to the machinery forced the German pirates to anchor in a Spanish port. Prince von Ratibor, German ambassador at Madrid, affected the manners of a master and tried more than once to dictate his will to a government which seemed to find too easy the decision to submit. The Germans, driven from nearly all

<sup>1</sup> It is of course impossible to translate into English this *bon mot*, which means literally: *Neutrals, cowards*.



countries by the war, had overflowed Spain in great numbers. They felt themselves sustained by the Spanish aristocracy, the clergy, the army. The Liberals said nothing. The King contented himself with supporting all humanitarian movements in favor of the Entente soldiers who were prisoners or the unfortunate populations of the invaded regions.

**Switzerland.**—The Swiss were divided between two currents — at Berne, Zurich, Basle, opinion pronounced itself frankly in favor of Germany, while at Lausanne and Geneva enthusiasm for the French cause increased with the peril of France. Early in the war, Swiss men of affairs made large profits by carrying on or favoring German smuggling. But later Switzerland, which could obtain supplies only through the agency of the belligerent states, suffered more from the blockade than all the other neutrals. The general staff of the Swiss army, which had been mobilized, had been instructed in Germany, and preserved all its admiration for German methods. International Socialists, who were active everywhere in the interest of Germany, have always found in Switzerland a field favorable to their efforts. It was in Switzerland, at Kienthal and at Zimmerwald, that they held their meetings. It was in Switzerland that the eruption of Bolshevist anarchy was prepared by Lenine and Trotsky, with the ardent collaboration of Germany. But the Swiss of the *Great War*, like the Swiss of 1870, lavished on allied prisoners the most

touching care. Switzerland has never allowed her traditions of generous hospitality to be belied.<sup>1</sup>

**Holland.**—Holland, like Switzerland, carried on a prosperous business with Germany, and did not understand that her too powerful neighbor was becoming dangerous until after German torpedoings. Besides, the Queen of Holland, who was married to a prince of Mecklenburg, nourished in the depths of her heart secret German sympathies.

**The Scandinavian States.**—Sweden did not cease to send large quantities of its minerals—iron and copper—to the German factories. The *Activist Party* labored openly in favor of the Germans. The King of Sweden, of the dynasty of Bernadotte, and the King of Spain, of the dynasty of the Bourbons, while not forgetting their French origins, found evidently more support for the consolidation of their thrones in the autocrat of Berlin than in the democratic governments of the Entente.

The Danes and the Norwegians, who like the Swedes and the Dutch, were victims of German piracy, felt inclined toward the Entente, but were not sufficiently strong to manifest their preference by any effective action. Great nations alone—Italy and the United States—or distant states—China, Brazil and the

<sup>1</sup> The affair of the Swiss colonels and the Grimm-Hoffmann affair would require more space than the restricted scope of this volume allows.

Spanish republics — could allow themselves to combat on the side where honor called them. Little by little, they took sides in favor of the Entente.

**The war in the Colonies.— The aid of Japan.**— Although the war in the colonies was scattered over regions as distant as the naval operations it was terminated much quicker. The Japanese, having entered the campaign in August, 1914, by virtue of their alliance with England, seized the German colony of Kiaochau in China after a memorable siege (August 30–November 7, 1914). The German fleets thus lost their most solid point of support in the extreme Orient. While the Australians were driving the Germans from the Samoan Islands and New Guinea, the Japanese took from them the island groups of Marianne, Marshall and Caroline, together with the Bismarck Archipelago. To assist the Allies, the Japanese agreed to police the seas of China and all the Pacific. Large quantities of arms and munitions came from the Japanese factories and were transported into Russia over the Transsiberian Railway. Later, the Japanese sent their torpedo boats to the Mediterranean, to help the allied navies in their struggle against German submarines. Finally, after having given the government of the United States sufficient pledges of their disinterestedness, the Japanese were authorized to intervene in Manchuria and in Siberia against the Bolsheviks (September, 1918). Japanese aid has thus never failed the Entente.

**Conquest of the German colonies in Africa.—**

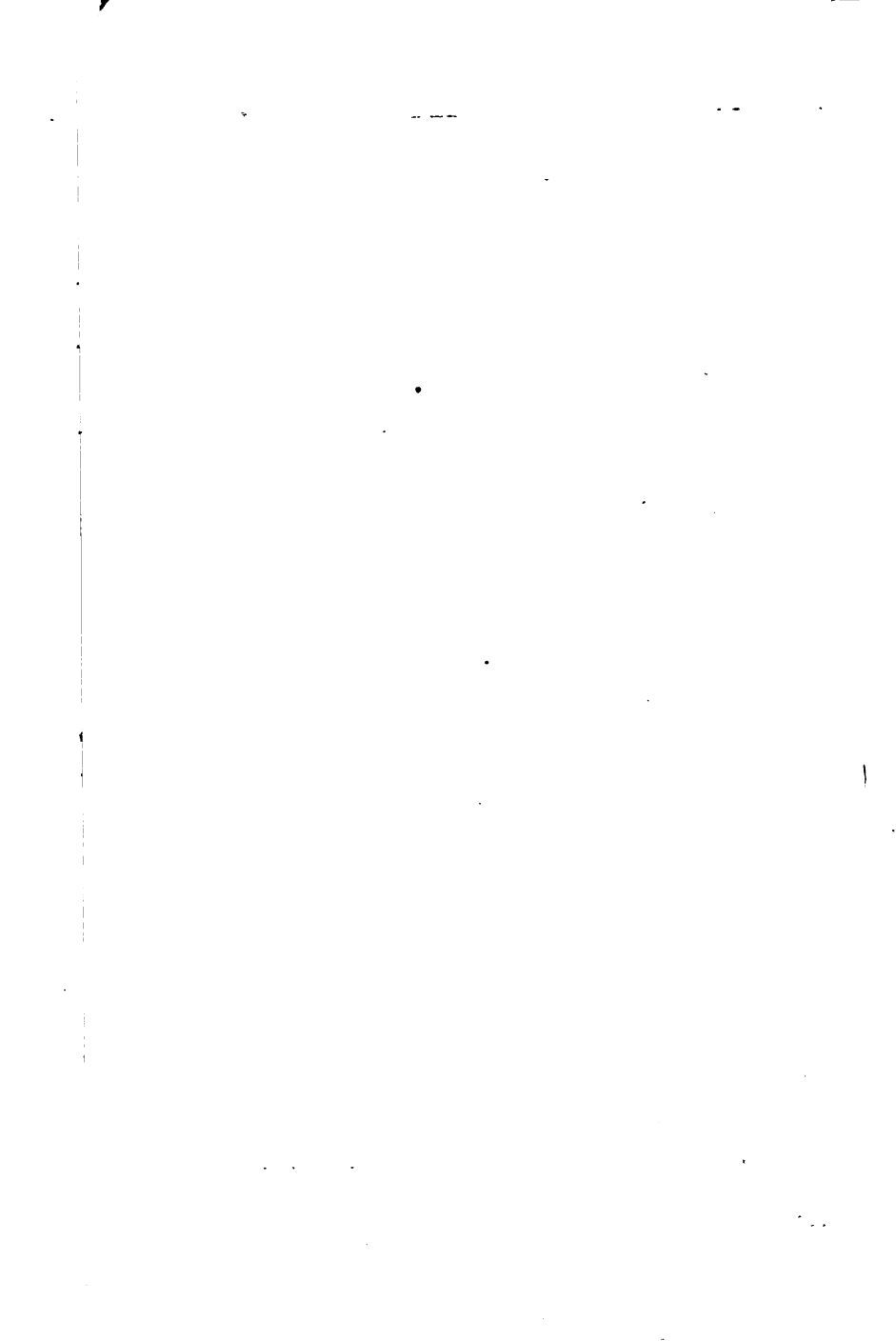
Africa, German Togoland surrendered as early as the 22nd of August, 1914 to the Anglo-French forces. The Camerun resisted longer (1914-1916). The negroes had been badly treated by the Germans, and welcomed the French and English as liberators. The last defenders of the Camerun took refuge in Spanish Guinea, where they were disarmed. In Morocco, the Germans tried to cause an uprising of the discontented and unsubdued tribes. But Gen. Lyautey, although deprived of his best troops, who were fighting on the French front, was able to subdue the rebels and extend still further the zones of French influence. In South Africa, the Germans strove to stir up the Boers by exploiting bitterness which had not yet been wholly forgotten, but Gen. Botha and the Boers, thoroughly reattached to Great Britain by the liberal policy of English rule, instead of helping the Germans, lent efficacious aid against them.

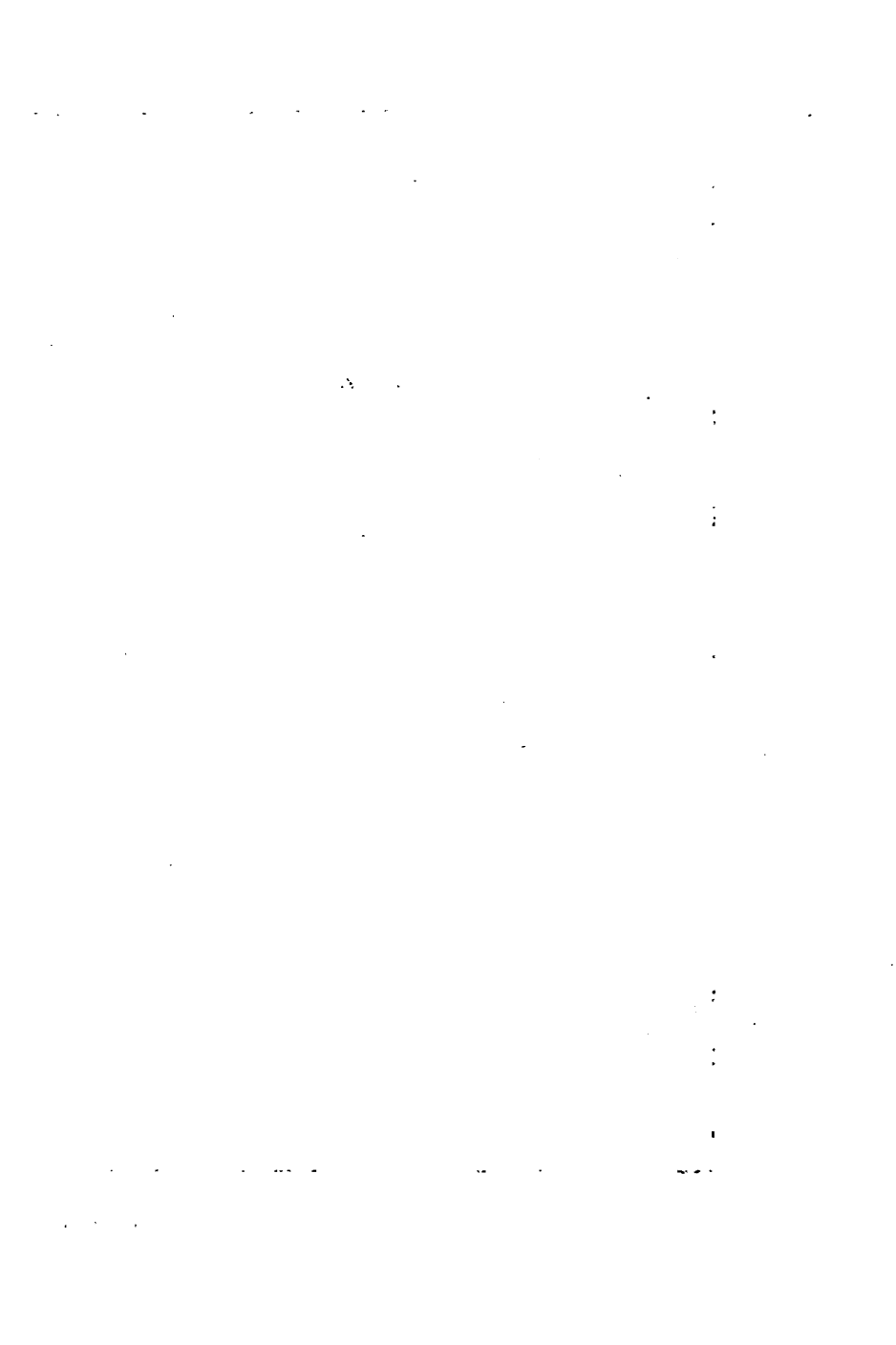
**How the Germans colonize.—**The negroes of German South-West Africa had been reduced to the most abominable servitude by the German colonists. Deprived of their lands, farms and stock, which constituted all their fortune, forced to flee to the depths of the forests where they died on drinking the water of the springs which the Germans had taken care to poison, the natives were reduced to a handful. The official census indicates that, from 1904 to 1911, the population

of the Herreros had fallen from 80,000 to 15,000; that of the Hottentots, from 20,000 to 10,000; that of the Damaras, from 30,000 to 13,000. The unfortunates who were recaptured were hanged with barbed wire. "Kill them all," said the celebrated executioner von Trotha, who distinguished himself in a war in which the real savages were not black, "take no prisoners." That is what the Germans call colonizing. They affirm that "kindness to the natives is cruelty to the whites." Among all civilized peoples, from the Greeks to the French, the goal of colonization has been *assimilation* of the natives. The Germans practise a policy of *elimination*; they create a desert among their subjects in order to prevent all rebellion, and — especially — in order to take their place.

**German East Africa.**— The most difficult conquest was that of German East Africa. The attacks against this colony came from all its neighbors: English East Africa, the Belgian Congo, English Rhodesia, Portuguese Mozambique. There was fighting on the slopes of Kilimanjaro, the most important mountain in Africa, and on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, at Ujiji, where Stanley met Livingstone. After a more or less strong resistance, the German contingents were everywhere obliged to lay down their arms.

**The vanished colonial dream.**— By the close of 1916, all the German colonies, except a few districts of East Africa, were in the hand of the Allies. They con-





stituted a domain of more than two and a half million square kilometres, peopled by eleven million subjects, with some excellent railways already begun. The Germans had dreamed of still greater railways — two trans-African lines, starting from Dar-es-Salam opposite Zanzibar, were to have run, the one, to Duala, the port of the Camerun, by crossing Middle Congo; the other, to Benguela, passing to the south of Lake Tanganyika and crossing the Congo River near its source. To do this, all that was necessary was to take the French Congo, the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola, then, under pretext of rectifying the frontier, to annex the sources of the Congo. An easy task, this, after having defeated the Entente, nor was its execution to prejudice the annexation of all of French North Africa! A dream of Pichrochole, which German defeat brings to naught. The Germans set great store by their colonies. Will they ever receive them back from the Allies?



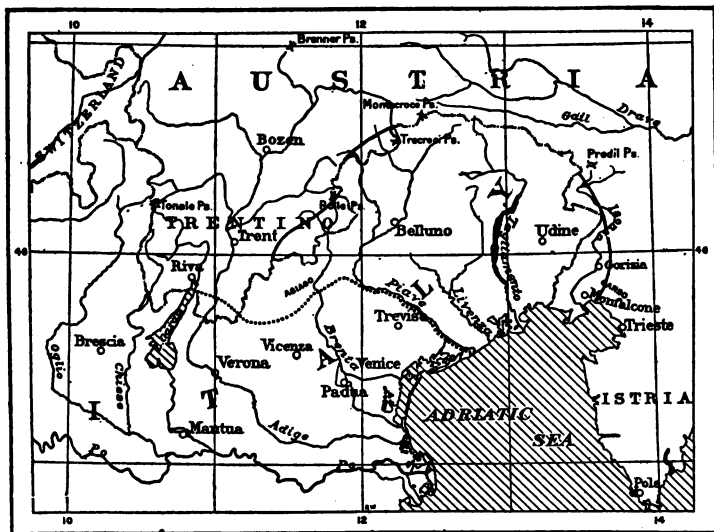
## CHAPTER VII

### THE ITALIAN EFFORT — THE ARMY OF SALONIKI

**The two groups of belligerents.**— In Europe the two groups of belligerents were not fully constituted until 1915. To the Germanic group of the Germans and Austrians were added the Touranian group — Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks. As to the group of the Entente, Italy united herself closely to it, having given up neutrality to enter the war. Her act constituted a fortunate compensation.

**Italy and the Triplice.**— It is known that in becoming one of the Triplice, Italy became a party to a purely defensive agreement, being unwilling to allow herself to be led into any aggressive action by the Central Powers. Germany had contributed much to the economic *risorgimento* of Italy by assisting, through the funds of its banks, the effort to reduce malaria and the development of hydro-electric plants designed to supply the lack of coal; finally, by increasing the exchange of commodities through the St. Gothard tunnel on the basis of commercial tariffs skilfully arranged. The condition of Italian finances had improved, and Italy was the only country in Europe to share with England the

privilege of having been able to diminish its debt, thanks to an excess of revenue. In forty years (1871-1911); the population had increased from 26 millions to 34 and a half millions. The army, in time of peace composed of 280,000 men and in time of war of 3,000,000, had been the melting pot in which all the old par-



— Farthest Italian Advance.

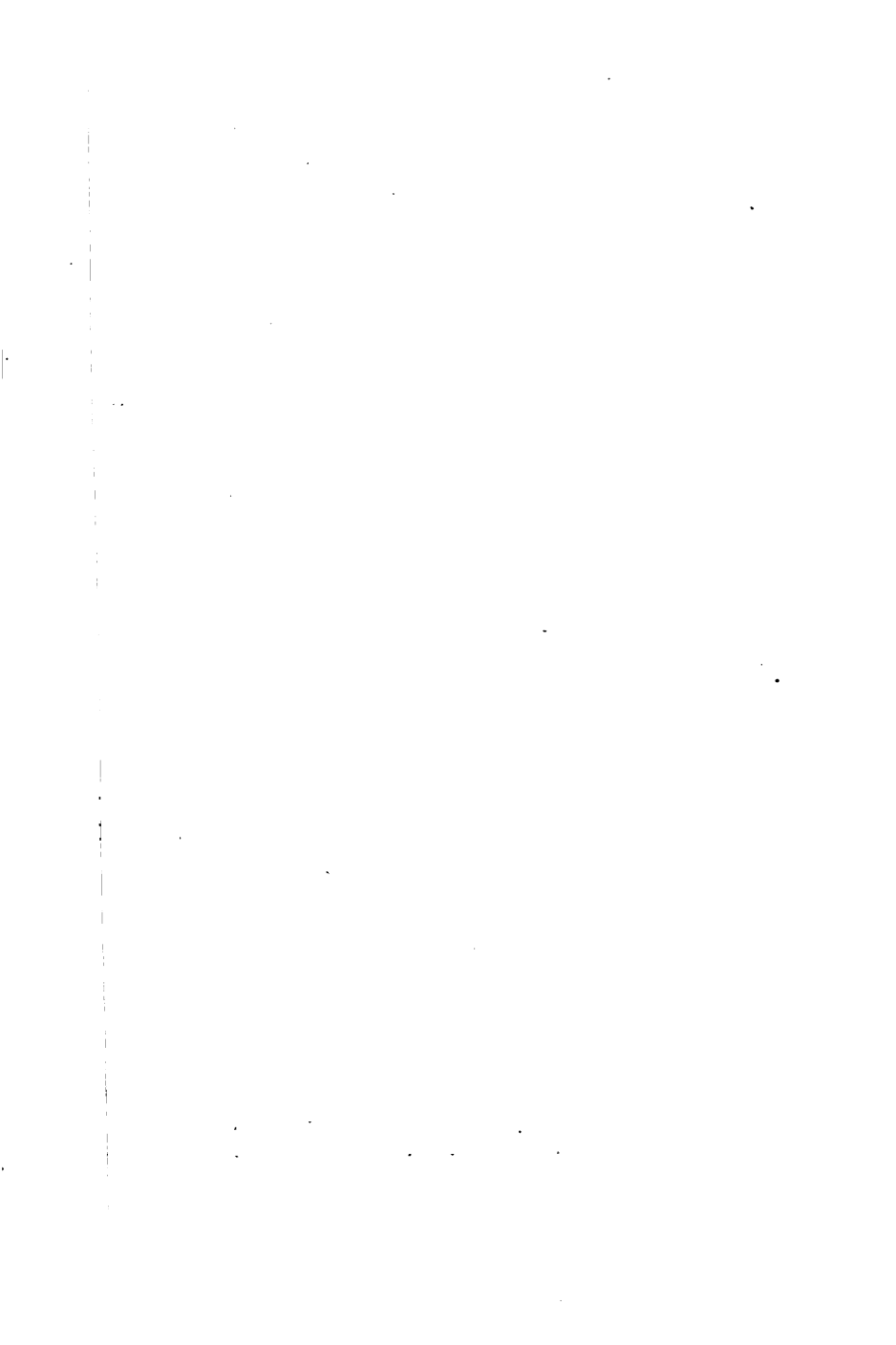
..... Austrian Invasion, 1917

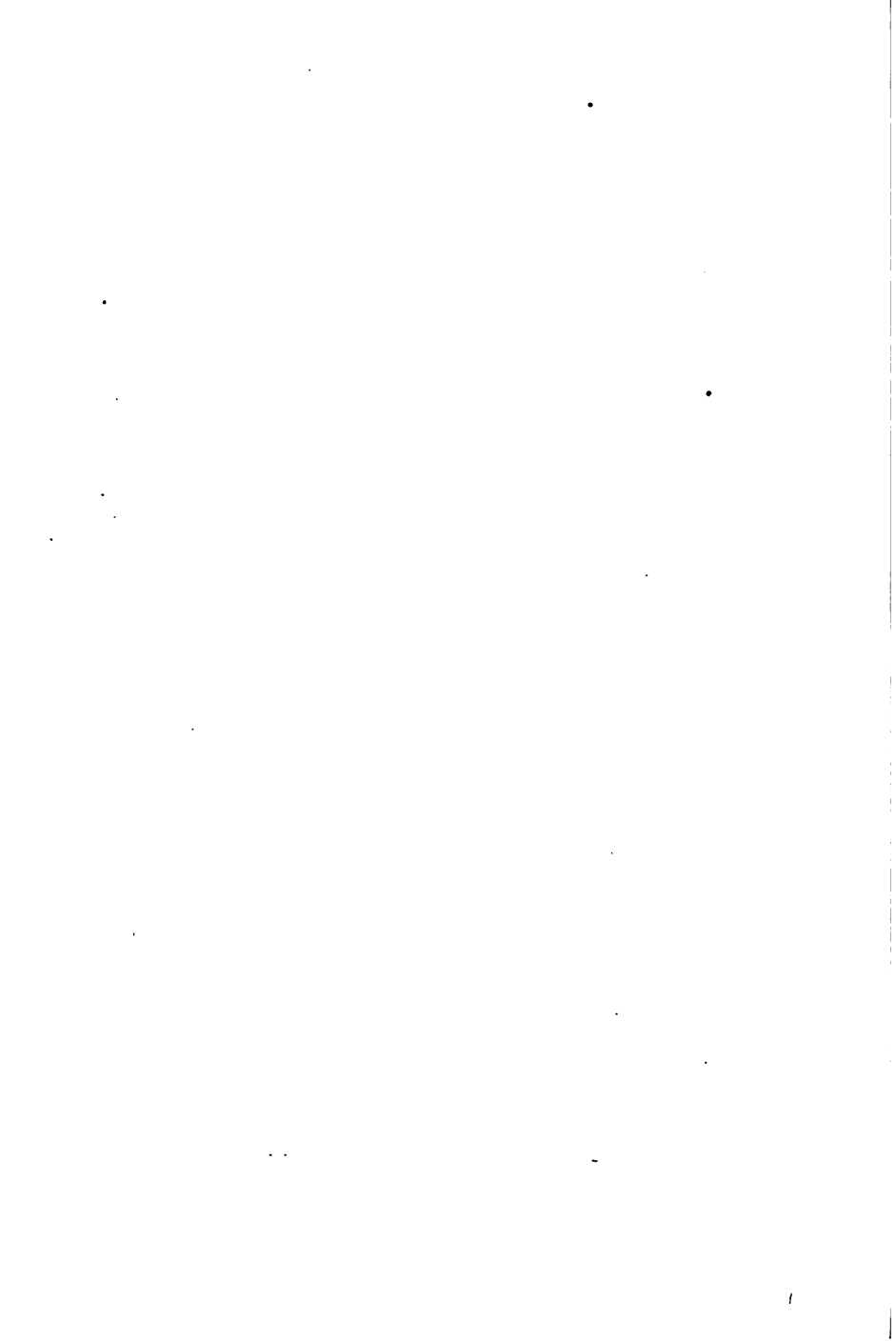
ITALIAN FRONT

ticularist elements had come to be melted. Finally, the intellectual renaissance had kept pace with the economic rise. The illustrious inventor Marconi, the great criminologist Lombroso, the musicians Mascagni, Leoncavalli and Puccini, the historian Ferrero, the novelists and poets Carducci and Fogazzaro, above all

the sublime D'Annunzio, the Victor Hugo of Italy, kept brightly burning the flame of Italian genius.

**Increasing tension between Italy and Austria.**—However, if Italy had received from Germany nothing but services — selfish enough, to be sure — from Austria she had received nothing but disappointments. The Italian population of the Trentino and Trieste clamored to return to Italian unity, but the frontier in these two regions was traced in such a manner that all the offensive positions remained in the hands of Austria. Furthermore, since the beginning of the century the chief of the Austrian general staff, Conrad von Haetzen-dorf, had not ceased to add to the fortifications of these positions. Again, the Adriatic question came to aggravate the dissension. It is true that the agreements of 1899, 1905 and 1907 stipulated that Italy and Austria would attempt no territorial acquisition in Albania, and would promise to favor the autonomy of that province, if it should be detached from Turkey. Despite these accords, points of friction became more numerous and the danger of a conflict between the two powers became incessant. When Austria, instead of founding at Trieste an Italian university, conceded only the establishment at Innsbruck of a Faculty of Law, the Italian students who came to matriculate under that Faculty were received with cudgels by the Austrian students (1906). The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria caused great excitement in Italy,





excitement which was increased at the still-born creation of Albania for the Prince of Wied. In the celebrated interview at Racconigi, it was in vain that the Austrian minister, Ærenthal, endeavored to lull to sleep the Italian minister, Tittoni, by protestations of friendship. Ærenthal was working for the junction of the line from Novibazar to Mitrovicza, which would have opened to the Austrians the great highway from Saloniki to the Orient. Tittoni countered by asking for the Serbians the direct line from Belgrade to the Adriatic, in order to cut the Austrian line. Tension between the two governments became so strong that after the earthquake at Messina, Austria thought of profiting from the sorrow of Italy by invading Venetia. During the war in Tripolitana, the Central Empires did everything to favor the resistance of the Turks against Italy (1912).

**Rapprochement with France.**—Unlike her relations with Austria, Italy's relations with France became closer. The commercial struggle which had been going on between the two countries since 1887, came to an end in the treaty of commerce of 1898, negotiated by Minister Delcassé and by the very distinguished ambassador, Camille Barrère. The "flirtation" with France was still further advanced through the visits exchanged by the King of Italy and the President of the French Republic in 1903 and 1904. At the conference of Algeciras, Italy supported France's right to

Morocco in exchange for the support of France in the projected conquest of Tripolitana. Everything was ready for a closer *rapprochement* between the two Latin sisters.

**The neutrality of Italy.**— When Italy declared neutrality in August, 1914, she rendered a signal service to France. She thus allowed her to leave undefended her frontier in the Alps in order to concentrate all her troops in the north. A great nationalistic movement burst forth in Italy. Had not the moment come to unite to the motherland the children of the Trentino and Trieste who so passionately longed for this union? It is true that the "black robes" protested, because of the poorly concealed sympathies of the Holy See for the Catholics of Austria. The leaders of the Socialists, who were impenitent Internationalists, also refused to embroil themselves with their German brothers, and the friends of the minister, Giolitti, partisans of the most prudent circumspection, did not think it necessary to cast Italy into the furnace.

The Kaiser, hoping to maintain Italy in her neutrality, sent to her the Socialist, Sudekum, to labor with the Italian workingmen, while the most skilful German diplomat, Prince von Buelow, the husband of the daughter of former Minister Minghetti, was charged to increase the number of partisans of Giolitti. The villa Malta at Rome became the scene of those unwholesome intrigues and shameful bargainings

in which German diplomats excel, as they scatter handfuls of gold. Buelow wanted to persuade Austria to make the necessary sacrifices. He offered Italy compensations in the Trentino—after the war. The Italian ministry under the direction of the two great patriots, Salandra and Sonnino, demanded in addition to the Trentino, the immediate cession of Trieste. The Italian parties which favored intervention in the war were gaining ground. The historian Ferrero at Milan and Gabriele D'Annunzio in the magnificently lyric flight of his speeches at Rome and at the festival at Quarto, near Genoa, electrified the people with their flaming appeals. The movement of public opinion became irresistible, and the government declared war on Austria (May 23rd, 1915).

**Italy at war. The pontifical policy.**—The situation of Italy was not very clear in the beginning. War was not declared on Germany until August 27th, 1916, and Germans continued all over Italy to carry on their dirty business, their espionage, their intrigues. In addition, the Pope, who still remains a sovereign power having at the Vatican an independent diplomatic group, did not enter the war. His neutrality had to be carefully respected—a very grave difficulty. The death of the venerable Pius X (August, 1914) was perhaps hastened by the sorrow which the declaration of war caused him. His successor, Cardinal Della Chiesa, elected the 3rd of September, 1914, took the



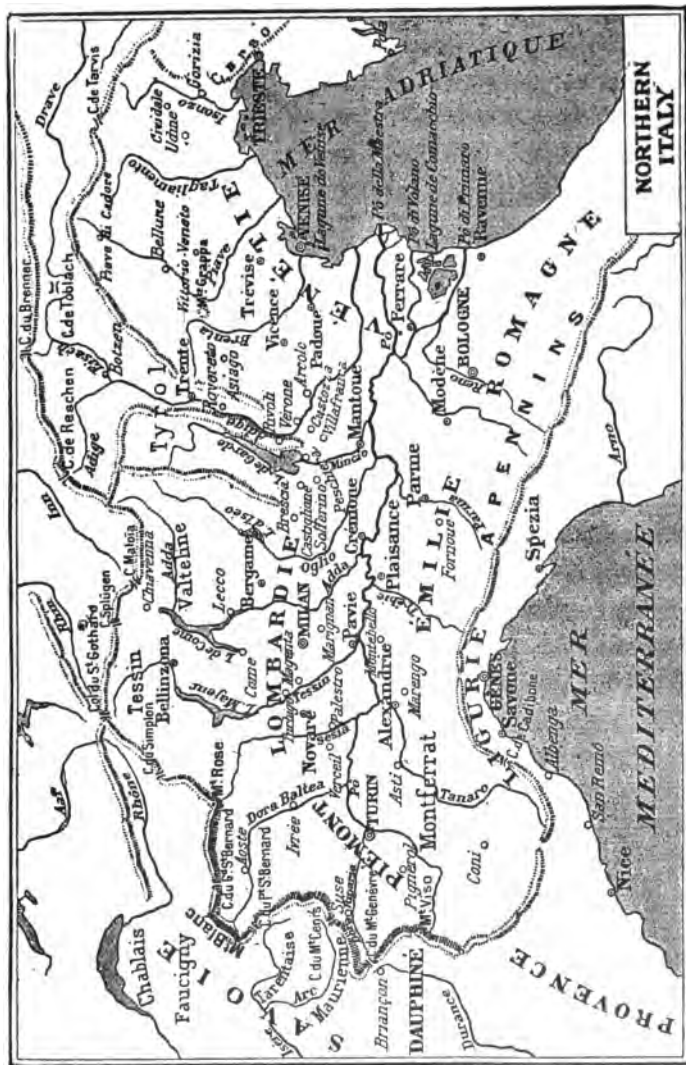
name of Benedict XV. He has never spared his words to bring to an end the effusion of blood nor his efforts to make more tolerable the fate of prisoners. None the less, his family alliances drew him toward the imperial house of Austria. The all-powerful general of the Jesuits, living at Rome, was an Austrian Pole, Father Ledochowski. German prelates, like Monsignor Gerlach, who in 1917 was condemned to death by default, being convicted as a spy by the Italian courts, remained attached to the pontifical service. Side by side with Cardinal Mercier, archbishop of Malines, who eloquently denounced to the Holy See the crimes of the Germans in Belgium—the burning of Louvain, the assassination of Belgian priests—Cardinal Hartmann, archbishop of Cologne, made the sovereign pontiff fear a schism among German Catholics if he openly took a position against the Kaiser. To proclaim the excommunication of the incendiaries and assassins and to elevate himself as supreme arbiter of Christendom, was a rôle which a Gregory VII, an Innocent III or a Boniface VIII would not have allowed to escape him. But times have changed. Modest Benedict XV was neither an ambitious nor a combative man. He left the cardinals of the Entente entirely free to encourage the admirable manifestations and heroic acts of their respective clergies. But he maintained his secret sympathies with the principle of authority represented by

the Kaiser, and with the ardent protectorate over Catholics exercised by the Emperor Francis-Joseph. It was the Positivist Brazilian senator, Ruy Barbosa, who expressed the lofty word which many expected from the chair of St. Peter: "Between those who violate the law and those who observe it one can admit no neutrality. One cannot be impartial between justice and crime." There is also the language of President Wilson: "Autocratic Germany is a *vile and conscienceless thing*, with which one can not treat." Posterity, with fuller information, will decide; history will judge.

**The Italian army. Victor-Immanuel III and Cadorna.**—The Italian army, a million strong, had been well prepared during the ten months that preceded its entry into the war. It put forward its élite corps, the bersaglieri and alpine chasseurs, superb troops composed of mountaineers, who alone could confront the frightful difficulties of campaigns in the Alps. King Victor-Immanuel III, following the glorious example of the King of the Belgians, did not cease to live and combat in the midst of his soldiers, but he had the wisdom to leave the direction of operations to the generalissimo, Cadorna, who showed during his thirty months' command the qualities of a skilful organizer and an intelligent chief. Two cousins of the King also fought — the Duke of Aosta, in command of one of the armies, and the Duke of the Abruzzi, in command of the fleet. Thus the chiefs of

the house of Savoy continued the national traditions of their great ancestor, the founder of Italian unity.

**The war in the mountains.**—The fighting took place beyond the Italian frontiers, in the Trentino, on all the abrupt slopes which dominate the upper valley of the Adige, from the Ortler, the Stelvio and the Tonale to the Carnic Alps; also in the Julian Alps and the Carso, which hang over the valley of the Isonzo and the approaches to Trieste. It was necessary to carry heavy cannon up to the top of mountains of more than 2000 meters, and, over the snowy paths, to supply with munitions and provisions troops intrenched on those plateaux and in gorges reputed inaccessible. The offensive began to the north of Lake Garda, toward Rovereto and Riva. It extended into the upper valleys of the Brenta, the Boito and other streams flowing into the Piave from the right bank. In the Carnia, where the French troops of Bonaparte had been engaged in 1797, the Italians destroyed the forts of Landro and Sexten, which defend the ridge of Toblach, and the fort of Malborghetto, which bars the ridge of Tarvis and the road to Vienna. On the sharply defended line of the Isonzo, they took Tolmino, Plava, Gradisea, Monfalcone, and remained the masters of all the middle and lower Isonzo. The Italians succeeded in advancing slowly (1915), despite the formidable defenses with which the Austrians had made to bristle all the passes of the mountains. The Italians adhered to the



fact of London (December 1), promising not to sign a separate peace. The 9th of February, 1916, there was held at Rome a first interallied conference, at which Briand, Léon Bourgeois, Albert Thomas and Gen. Pellé sat by the side of the Italian ministers and generals.

**Austrian attack in the Trentino.**—However the Kaiser insisted that the Austrians should try, with powerful reinforcements, a descent into Lombardy. The offensive directed against Vicenza and Venice, was to reduce Italy, at the very moment when the offensive against Verdun was to annihilate France. Austrians to the number of 200,000 were brought into Italy from the Carpathians and the Balkans. Between the Adige and the Brenta, 2000 cannon, among which were twenty batteries of 305's and 420's, were brought up. The Italians had to fall back under the prolonged deluge of projectiles. They lost Arsiero and Asiago (May 30). The battle raged all along the plateau of the Sette Comuni, and the Lombard plain was severely menaced.

**The Italians in the Carso.**—Fortunately the vigorous offensive of Brussiloff in June forced the Austrians to send reinforcements to the Galician front. The fine troops of the Fifth Army, organized by Cadorna, encouraged by his exhortations to hold until death, ended by getting the better of the determined Austrians. Arsiero and Asiago were recovered. The Austrians

continued to dispute foot by foot every mountain, every bend of a valley. Conrad von Haetzendorf was disgraced and replaced by the Archduke Frederick. But the new chief could not stop the advance of the Italians along the western slopes of the Carso. They captured Gorizia the 9th of August, 1916. In the late fall, there was hard fighting all through the Carso. In the spring of 1917, Cadorna took from Boroëvic, the new Austrian general, the whole region north-west of the plateau of the Hermada, which bars the road to Trieste. The capture of the Bainsizza plateau (August, 1917) was the crowning of all these fortunate operations. The troops of Cadorna harvested an ample crop of prisoners, especially among the Slav regiments, which had been enrolled by force in the Austrian army.

During these two years of fighting, the "old classes" of the Italian forces were not called; the reserves remained intact, and as emigration had been forbidden since the beginning of the war, the Italians could hope to come out of the tempest without having been too much weakened in men.

**The expedition of Saloniki. Ferdinand of Bulgaria.**—The expedition of Saloniki is closely connected with the Italian effort. This expedition was due to the wise foresight of Minister Briand. His plan was to save Serbia, retain Greece, which was wavering, and perhaps Bulgaria in the alliance of the

Entente, and close against the Central Powers the road to the Suez canal and the far East. It was the English who had given preference to the expedition of the Dardanelles, the failure of which we have seen. When the French accepted — without enthusiasm, be it said — to coöperate in the expedition of Saloniki, the favorable moment had passed. Ferdinand of Bulgaria, a sly and tricky prince, a product of the Saxon stud-farm of Coburg, with a mixture of French blood from his mother, Clémentine d'Orléans, daughter of Louis Philippe, nourished unbounded ambitions, among them that even of seeing himself crowned at Constantinople as King of Byzantium. In 1913, he had betrayed his Christian allies, Serbia and Greece, to please Austria, which promised him Macedonia. Although vanquished, he was determined to recover Macedonia, which had been divided between his late allies, Serbia and Greece. The conquest of Macedonia was the program commended to his soldiers in their manual of 1907; it was the theme of the religious apostleship of the exarch Joseph in the country districts; it was the price which the Central Empires were disposed to pay Bulgaria for her entrance into the great tariff union of Mittel-Europa. The Bulgarian minister, Radoslavof, revealed in 1916 treaties signed to this effect by Sofia with Berlin and Constantinople as early as the spring of 1914.

**Hesitations of the Entente.**—The Entente made

the mistake of trying to retain Ferdinand, by offering him Macedonia, the object of his covetousness. To do this meant sacrificing Serbia and Greece. Ferdinand continued his bargaining with the ministers of the Allies until his army was ready to take the field. Then he threw himself on Serbia without declaring war, and the Bulgarian troops, operating in conjunction with those of Austria and Germany under Mackensen, finished in a few weeks the conquest and destruction of that unfortunate country<sup>1</sup> (close of 1915).

**The army of Saloniki.**—The French army disembarked too late at Saloniki (October 9, 1915), and succeeded only in stopping the Bulgarians at the new frontiers of Greece, at Gueugueli and at Doiran, on the two banks of the Vardar. Gen. Sarrail, who was in charge of the expeditionary force, organized solidly the entrenched camp of Saloniki, whither came to strengthen him, first the troops withdrawn from the Dardanelles (January, 1916), then later the glorious remnants of the Serbian army. To arm and regroup these exhausted regiments, to assure the supply of provisions and munitions for an army steadily increasing, in a marshy and unhealthy delta, was the thankless task which Sarrail energetically carried out with great success.

<sup>1</sup> "In the ditches, along the roads, in the fields, I saw here and there the bodies of Serbian peasants." *Vossische Zeitung*, Dec. 25, 1915. See chapter V.



**National policy of Venizelos.**—The greatest difficulties were those that arose in Greece. The great patriot Venizelos had summoned to Saloniki the troops of the Entente, by virtue of the treaties of 1829 and 1863, which constituted France, England and Russia the guarantors of the independence and constitution of the realm. The constitution had twice been violated by King Constantine. Venizelos had been unable to obtain from the King the coöperation of Greece in the expedition of the Dardanelles, despite the enormous advantage in Asia Minor promised her by the Entente, or the support of Serbia against the Bulgarians, in accordance with the treaty of 1912.

**Perfidy of Constantine.**—Constantine, a student of the military academy of Berlin and a Field-Marshal in the German army, had married Sophia, the sister of the Kaiser. German influence was all-powerful with him. In the war of 1897, his conduct had not been particularly brilliant. Having come to the throne in 1913, after the assassination of King George, his father, he was determined to maintain the neutrality of Greece. "But," he said to a neutral diplomat, "if I have to become embroiled with one or the other of the belligerents, I prefer that it be with the Entente rather than with Germany. Germany, in fact, would show herself pitiless toward me, whilst the Entente is much too foolish ever to treat me harshly." The hesi-

tations and the falterings of the Entente justified too long his duplicity.

Constantine refused at first to aid Serbia, in spite of the treaty of alliance which obliged him to defend her against the Bulgarian aggression. To give free course to his autocratic aspirations, he twice dissolved the Grecian parliament, which insisted on supporting Venizelos. Trembling with fear before German threats and communicating his terrors to his people, he gave the order to turn over to the Germano-Bulgars the fortress of Rupel, with its heavy artillery and the entire Greek division which occupied eastern Macedonia. This division was obliged to lay down its arms and was interned by the Germans in a Silesian camp. The Bulgarians entered the Greek cities of Seres and Drama, where the worst atrocities were committed. Beginning at this time, there were two governments in Greece: at Athens, that of Constantine, a traitor to the national cause, although affecting to obey the injunctions of Admiral Dartige du Fournet, who was cruising before the Piræus at the head of the French squadron; and, at Saloniki, the national government of Venizelos, who was preparing an army of Greek volunteers to aid the troops of the Entente to reconquer Serbia.

**Forced abdication of Constantine.**—The Allies should have swept out of the way this felonious prince, who threatened to attack from behind the army of

Saloniki and who assisted in supplying the German submarines of the Ægean Sea. Sarraïl demanded his deposition, but Italy, Russia and even the English Conservatives refused to offend, in the person of Constantine, the "trust" of the Kings. To wear out the longanimity of the Entente, it was necessary for Constantine to organize at Athens a massacre of French marines, disembarked to force him to carry out his promise of disarmament (December 2, 1916). This time the three governments, France, England and Italy, resolved at the conference held at St. Jean de Maurienne to punish the King of Greece for all his perfidies. At the energetic demand of High-Commissioner Jonnart, representing the three powers, Constantine abdicated, and his second son, Alexander, was proclaimed King of Greece (June 12, 1917).

**The entrenched camp of Saloniki.**—The above act of public salubrity permitted Sarraïl to complete the organization of the army of Saloniki. The Italians operated in Albania, over which they desired to establish a protectorate; the Serbians, in the bend of the Cerna; the French, to the west of the Vardar and the English to the east in the region of Lake Doiran. This army — a veritable Babel — still lacked cohesion. The provisions which came from France by sea, under danger of being torpedoed, were costly and slow in arriving. Marsh fever was frequent. None the less, the capture of Monastir (November 19, 1916) had

already shown what these seasoned troops were capable of. When once Venizelos had been recalled to take charge of affairs, when Greece had definitely broken with Germany, the army of Saloniki was able to live up to the expectations that had determined its constitution — namely, to maintain in the Orient a front, in order to form a liaison with the operations of the English which promised brilliant successes in Syria and Mesopotamia.

## CHAPTER VIII

### RETROSPECTIVE PREPARATION

(1915-1916)

#### **The struggle in trench warfare and equipment.**

— The war on the French front takes on a new aspect as a result of the battle of the Yser. The Germans, having missed their massed attack, wish at least to hold firmly the invaded territory. They substitute for the war in men, the war in equipment; for the war of manœuvre, the war of stability. From this time on, they bury themselves in caves and rock quarries, as for example on the slopes of the Aisne. Elsewhere they dig trenches in numerous parallel lines, bound together by winding communicating trenches, the trenches in front being defended by barbed wire entanglements. They conceal with the utmost care the outlooks of their observers and the shelters of reinforced concrete in which is their heavy artillery. They build, as deep as twenty meters under the surface, chambers for the commanders and galleries intended for the companies of the guard. The allied troops, too, are obliged to dig in the earth, to bury themselves in deep shelters, where there is often standing water which cannot be drained and which has to be

covered by laying corrugated sheet iron on logs. This, for the allied troops, is a new apprenticeship which they master with difficulty, so great is their certitude that they will not be attacked. Since the battle of the Marne, they underestimate the bravery of the enemy and his means of defense.

**Retrospective preparation.**—The superiority of the Germans was still more marked in the domain of war material. For forty-four years, they had not ceased to perfect their engines of destruction and to accumulate enormous reserves in their arsenals. In France, everything had to be created, and, at all cost, it was necessary to make up for lost time. This *retrospective preparation* lasted for more than two years, during which time the French contented themselves—according to the expression attributed to Joffre, the national temporizer—with “nibbling” at the Germans, until the day when, provided with all necessary material, they could kick them out of France.

**The new artillery.**—“Cannon, munitions”—such is the order of the day spread broadcast by the press, and such is the program adopted by the allied administrators. That jewel among cannon, the 75, could shoot twenty shrapnel or high explosive shells per minute, each shrapnel containing 300 bullets. This was already a rather fine shower of lead. But the really efficacious range of the 75 did not extend beyond 2,500 meters. The Rimmelhos of 155 millimeters did

not equal the range of the German heavy artillery. The Minister of War, Millerand, received the assistance of a minister of Armament, Albert Thomas, who labored with the greatest zeal to endow France with all that she lacked (May, 1915). At the Creusot iron works, at Havre, and at St. Chamond were manufactured heavy cannon of 305 and even monster cannon of 400, capable of rivaling the German 420's and the gigantic Austrian howitzers; at St. Etienne, at Tulle, at Limoges, machine-guns, automatic machine rifles, rifles with periscope and also trench mortars of antiquated form, but now become again very useful for throwing for a short distance projectiles of large dimensions. Grenades of all shapes were used to clear out the trenches after they had been taken; they were thrown by hand from a distance of twenty to thirty meters. At Toulouse, a new city sprang up in an island of the Garonne, where explosives and powder were manufactured. In Dauphiné, at the foot of the Pyrenees, wherever water power could be substituted for coal, were built factories, from which came auto-cannons, trucks, all sorts of vehicles necessary for the transportation of supplies and for the ambulance service. The soldiers were armed with the Adrian helmet, which gives them such a martial air and which protects them from so many bullets, and with gas masks. By the autumn of 1915, Minister Millerand could announce this reassur-

ing message: "French production of projectiles of all calibers has to-day increased to 600 per cent. of what, at the beginning of the war, was deemed sufficient, and our effort will not stop with this."

**Aviation.**—Aviation, which, at the opening of hostilities, was still considered as a mere brilliant sport, became a new branch of the service and replaced the cavalry for purposes of scouting. The Nieuports, the Bréguets, the Voisins, the Moranes, the Spads had each their merits, and they were manufactured in continually increasing quantities. There were needed light and rapid pursuit planes for overtaking the adversary; planes for reconnaissance, where the pilot is accompanied by an observer whose photographic "bearings" permit one to locate with absolute precision the positions of the enemy and to regulate the fire of the artillery; bombing planes, heavy and solid, laden with hundreds of kilograms of projectiles — planes which were to be escorted by fighting planes. Flash-lights allow night expeditions. Aviation parks were installed to train pilots and observers, all of them young, all of great courage and endurance, eager to confront the perilous combats in the air. Guynemer, Nungesser, Heurteau, Deullin, Fonck and so many other famous *aces* attained immortal glory by their fabulous exploits, each one having followed his own particular method. How many of them, like Guynemer and



Garros, fell victims to their own audacity! Aviation, the fifth arm of the service, did not cease to make progress.

**Dirigibles and zeppelins.**—There were still in France some dirigibles, entrusted especially with the observation of submarines on the coasts. But they were not armed for attack, any more than were the “sausages” or captive balloons. The zeppelins, on the other hand, veritable aerial monsters, gave the Germans great hopes, which were not realized. They thought it possible to carry out descents in England with their zeppelins, to destroy cities, etc. They made about a hundred raids over London and the eastern counties, and a few also over Paris. That of January 19, 1916, was the most serious. Their projectiles blew down several houses at Ménilmontant. The whole quarter was damaged. But many of these giants were sunk in the sea or otherwise destroyed. Since the death of Count Zeppelin (1917), it seems that Germany has abandoned the use of these monstrous engines.

**Divers branches of service.**—What shall be said of the narrow-gauge railways (.60 meters wide), so useful in the zone nearest the front; of the field telegraph lines and the telephones which serve even the very modest post of a battalion commander; of the myriads of trucks and carts necessary to transport to the right point provisions and munitions; of the equipment of posts of first aid, ambulances, hospitals, trains for

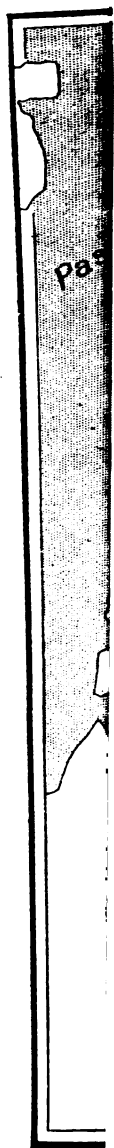
the wounded; of the preparation of remedies and serums? At the beginning of mobilization, the soldiers had been enrolled in the various units as chance determined, no attention being paid to individual aptitudes. When it was seen that the war would be long and that it would be necessary to organize its different branches of service, the Allies began to utilize each person according to his special skill. The metal workers were mobilized in the plants that manufactured war material, and the engineers and technicians came to join them. Teachers of languages were utilized as interpreters; financial agents, as pay-masters and managers. Magistrates were employed in the courts-martial, physicians and surgeons in the sanitary service.

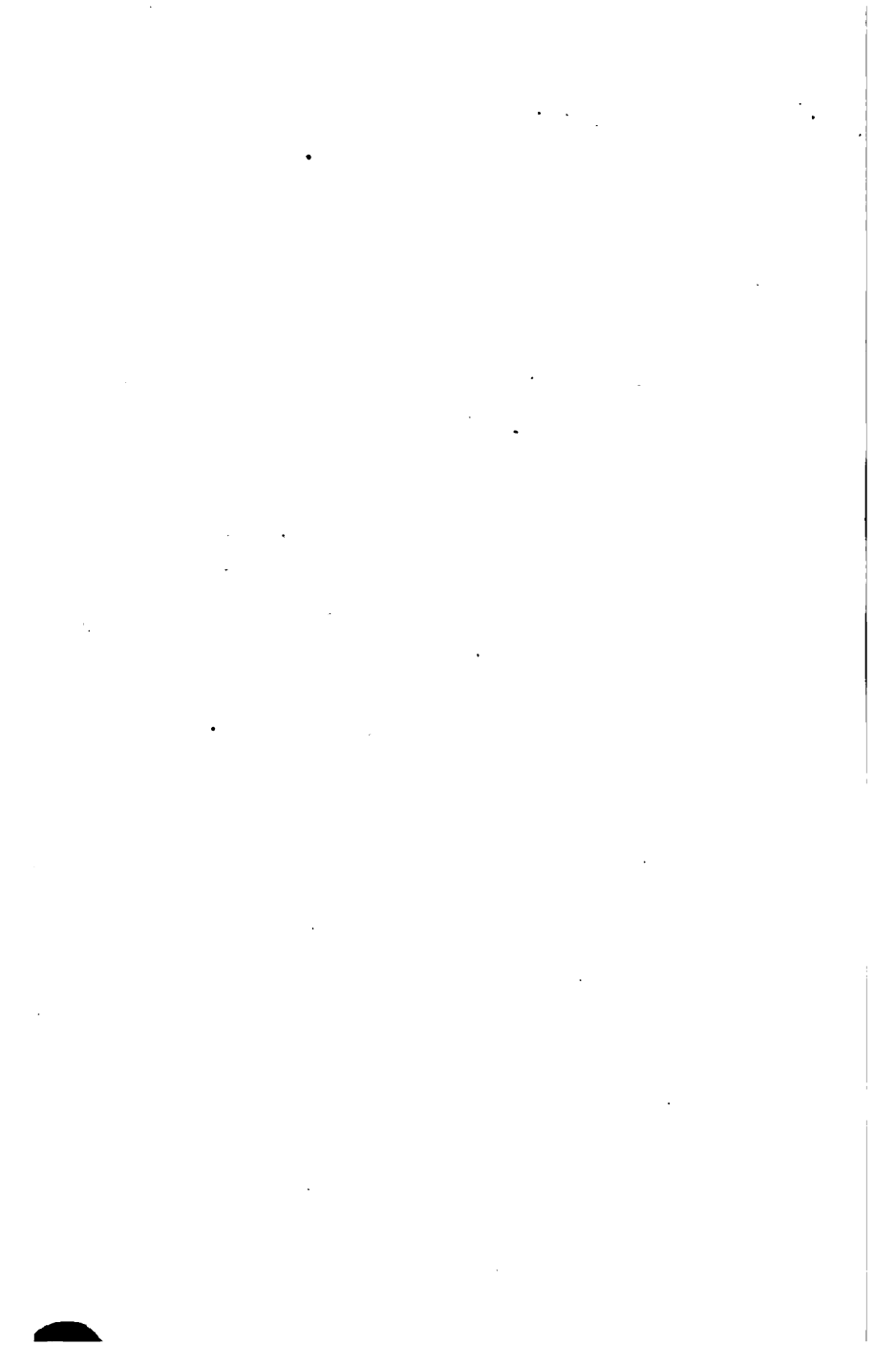
**Women in the war.**—Men were lacking everywhere. The French women set themselves courageously to work, in the factories, on the railways and tramways, almost everywhere. On the farms, they cultivated the soil; in the factory or shop, they replaced their husbands, who were mobilized; they filled all the bureaux of administration, all the banks. Innumerable nurses, with indefatigable devotion, transformed themselves into veritable lay sisters of charity in order to care for and console the wounded and the sick. Nuns and ladies of the Red Cross, women of France and ladies of France, school teachers, telegraph girls, — all showed the same unwearying devotion, the same sense of order and economy, the same smiling grace

while doing the most painful and often the most dangerous tasks. How many deserved the Croix de Guerre, like the very best of the soldiers! How many succumbed under the burden! The French woman showed herself throughout the great war able to perform all tasks and undergo all sacrifices.

**The wearing-out process.**—In the wearing-out process, which continued more than three years, great battles were rare. Operations were reduced to sudden raids on positions which it was necessary to occupy at any cost, to artillery duels, to the capture of patrol parties. Engineers constructed, developed, improved the trenches, excavated tunnels for mines, prepared camouflage, installed new batteries. There were battles every day, or, rather these years were a long armed vigil, often in the snow or in the mud, under a shower of shells which never ceased, in shelters that had been crushed to bits, while provisions were too often lacking to the men in the first line. It was a question less of gaining territory than of keeping up a long effort and holding out there where you were. France was like a great besieged camp, which intrenched itself strongly to ward off all attacks. By augmenting and reinforcing the material of war, it was hoped to economize human lives, and the effort was successful.

**Offensive of Artois and Champagne (1915).**—In 1915 there were, however, two serious offensives. That of Artois (May and June) was undertaken to de-





tain the German contingents which were about to be sent to the Russian front. It was here that Gen. Pétain revealed his genius in a series of affairs, the most violent of which were fought at Carency and at Notre Dame de Lorette. The other offensive took place in Champagne. After a bombardment which continued for seventy-five hours, the French human wave started forward by irresistible bounds. Prisoners to the number of 23,000 were taken and 75,000 Germans were put *hors de combat* — such was the result of those glorious days which rendered forever memorable the butte of Tahure, Maisons de Champagne and the Main de Massiges (September 25—October 7, 1915). But the German second line could not be taken.

The English, who had arranged a simultaneous attack in Artois, were stopped similarly at the crest of Vimy. They had hoped to pierce the German lines; they were stopped at the second system of trenches. Some fortunate skirmishes of the English at Neuve Chapelle, Loos, Hulluch, to the north of Arras, the capture of the important position of Eparges in Woevre after a succession of attempts (February—April), finally, some hotly contested combats in le Prêtre Wood, on the slopes of Hartmannsweillerkopf and in the upper valley of Munster in the Vosges, where the admirable French Alpine troops fought — these were the battles which fixed public attention during the year 1915, on a front of 800 kilometres, of which the Bel-

gians occupied about thirty and the English about a hundred. The deserving efforts of the English were about to commence to bear fruit, but a long preparation was necessary.

**Why England went to war.**—In the spring of 1914, England did not desire war, and did not believe in it any more than France did. Since 1905 the Radicals had been in power and were endeavoring to transform the old aristocratic institutions in order to make prevail, under democracy, an ideal of justice and reason. The prime minister, Asquith, an intelligent barrister, and the former attorney, Lloyd George, a great popular orator, had declared after the attempt of Agadir, that England would place herself behind France in opposing Germany. But since 1911, Sir Edward Grey, minister of Foreign Affairs, had concluded many treaties of arbitration, while Lord Haldane had gone to Berlin to propose proportional limitation of maritime armaments, which Germany had rejected. In the mean time, Prince Lichnowsky, the Kaiser's ambassador at London, had been told to lull opinion to sleep by pacific assurances and to buy newspapers that were for sale, in the hope of obtaining English neutrality in the conflict about to be precipitated. On the 1st of August, 1914, Sir Edward Grey again assured our ambassador, Paul Cambon, that he would not allow France to be attacked by the German fleet. But he did not believe England to be implicated in the

Franco-German quarrel, because he felt that the nation would not approve.

**The English effort.**—The violation of the neutrality of Belgium, which had been guaranteed by England, made it her duty to intervene. She had a force of 160,000 men, which she sent to the continent in small detachments. The English thought that they were merely beginning “a game of foot ball which promised to be rather rough.” But then came the pillaging, the burning, the massacres, the slaughter of innocents, the bombardment of cathedrals. Treitschke, Bernhardi and all the Fathers of the pangermanic church were translated into English; people learned of the German cry of hate: “Gott strafe England! God punish England!” Then came the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the drowning of English sailors who had escaped from the German torpedoes, then the raids of zeppelins over London and the bombardment of the southern and eastern English ports. The loyal English conscience was indignant at these diabolic acts. England understood that for her too it was a question of “to be or not to be.” From that moment, volunteers streamed in; they were especially numerous among the prosperous classes and the intellectual youth.

**Conscription and war factories.**—Volunteers were not enough. Then, too, it was the most generous who enlisted. But was it right for idlers, drunkards and inferior workingmen to spend their time loaf-



ing, when the best men were going to their death? Opinion began to clamor for obligatory service through conscription. But was it necessary to militarize England in order to combat German militarism? Many Englishmen were still much opposed to such a thing. The miners of Wales went on a formidable strike to the number of 60,000, and the trades unions tried to maintain the eight-hour day. Pacifists, like Ramsay Macdonald, continued to demand peace at any price, and the Quakers, Wesleyans and other non-conformists condemned the war, because Scripture forbids killing one's fellow men. In short, the essentially individualist Englishman wanted to remain a free man, and feared lest he become a slave under the flag. Lord Derby declared that he could obtain from all *obligatory volunteer service*. His multiform publicity and his noisy advertising brought new enlistments. But in spite of English repugnance, it was necessary at the close of 1915 to adopt conscription. A tenacious idea had at last penetrated the minds of Englishmen — that the war was to terminate only with success, whether it be an affair of one year or ten. To adapt herself to war, England had had to "subject to Government direction the men of a country where the Government had never directed anything" (A. Chevrillon), which was the opposite of the "governmental" organization of Germany.

Lloyd George became minister of Munitions at the same time as Albert Thomas in France (May, 1915), and the war factories were placed under the control of the English government. Henceforth, the English output, methodical and organized, increased hand in hand with the growing support of the Dominions. In four years, from 1914 to 1918, the English fleet passed from 2,500,000 tons to 8,000,000 tons. It destroyed 150 German submarines, half of them in the last year mentioned. Great Britain put on foot for her marine and army 6,250,000 men, to whom should be added the 1,250,000 supplied by the English Dominions.<sup>1</sup>

**Ireland and Home Rule.**— There remained a single dark spot — the situation in Ireland. At the very beginning of the war, Ireland raised a magnificent contingent of 130,000 volunteers, who distinguished themselves especially at the Dardanelles. More than 300,000 Irishmen similarly enlisted in the armies of the Entente, if one counts the contingents furnished by Irish emigration. But Home Rule, voted in 1914, had not been put in force. The Unionists of Ulster and scattered groups of the six southern counties, with Sir Edward Carson as their leader, refused to separate from England, whilst the Nationalists, with John Redmond as their chief, wanted to make of Ireland a dominion like

<sup>1</sup> Statistics furnished by Lloyd George in his speech of August 8, 1918.

Canada, by immediate application of Home Rule. There had even been formed in Ireland a party of extremists, the Sinn Feiners, who allowed themselves to be entrapped by German intrigues into provoking an uprising. The 24th of April, 1916, a convoy of arms having sailed from Germany tried to land in Ireland, under the direction of Consul Casement, who was of Irish origin. An uprising took place at Dublin, but it was repressed in a few days. Only 3000 men took part in it. Casement was hanged. The majority of Irishmen, it must be said, knew the good will of Lloyd George, who wished as liberal an application of Home Rule as possible. Little by little, people became calmer, and in Ireland, as everywhere else, the base German intrigues failed. When the light is let in on these intrigues, they fall into dust.

**The campaign of 1916.**— It was, then, with a much strengthened English collaboration that the campaign of 1916 opened on the French front. The year 1916 will remain the forever glorious year of Verdun and the Somme, but it was also that of the Russian betrayal, which brought with it the crushing of Rumania. France and England had adapted themselves to the new warfare. Briand and Lloyd George, the ministers in power, developed with ardor the intensive manufacture of munitions and materials. Aviation multiplied its deeds of prowess. The esteem of the entire world went out to the Entente in its efforts to

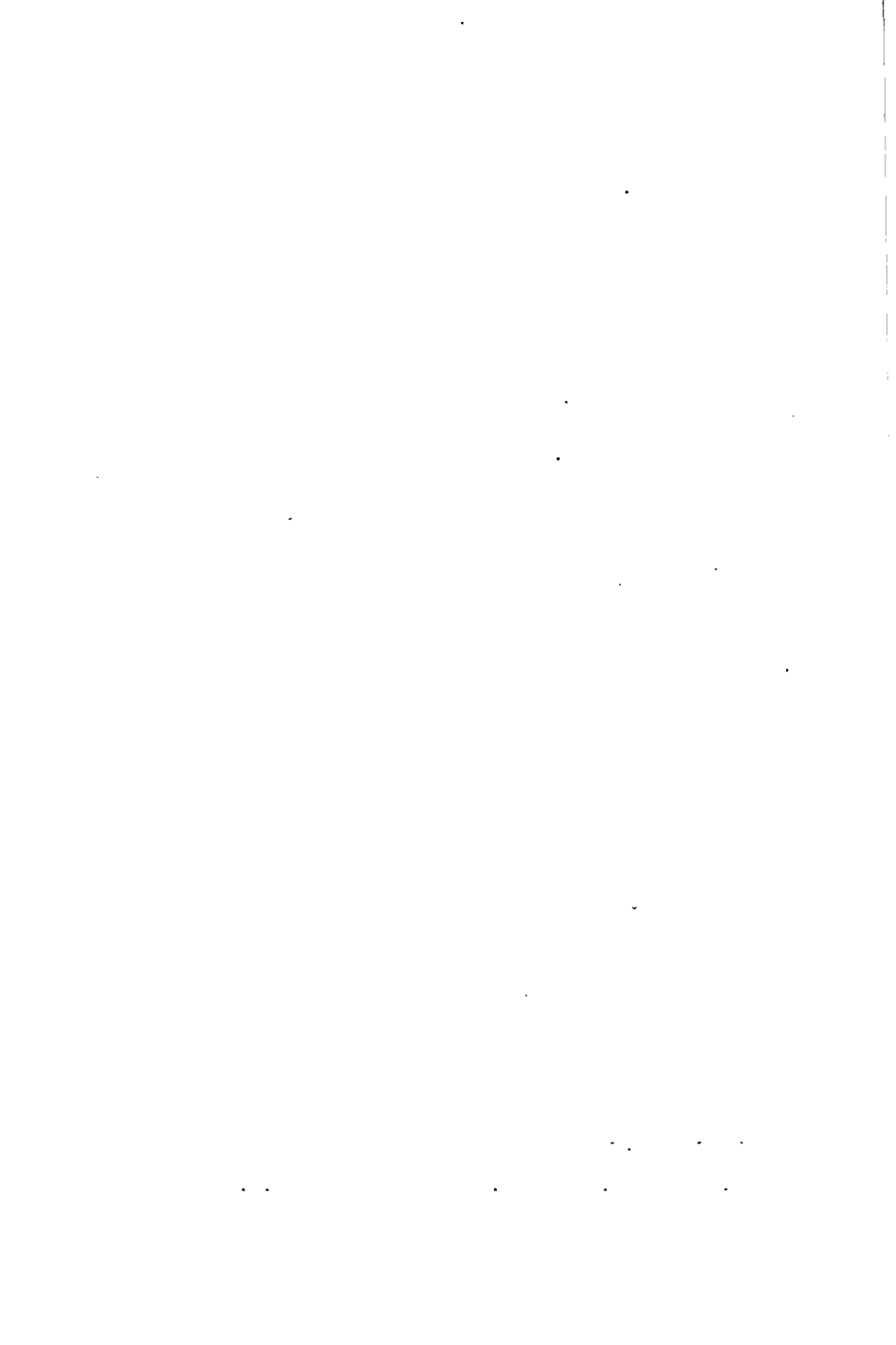
realize *unity of action on a unified front*. Many conferences between the allied ministers and the councils of the Great General Headquarters, in which took part, under the direction of "our Joffre," the delegates of the allied powers, Generals Douglas Haig, Gilinsky, Porro, Wiellemans and Col. Stefanowitch, with Castelnau as chief of staff, served to cement more and more firmly together the block of the Entente. The Americans were beginning to become angry over the German torpedoings, and President Wilson was addressing to the Kaiser notes of protestation increasingly menacing in tone. Germany, though more or less well supplied by the neutrals, was suffering seriously from the blockade. To obtain peace, it was necessary for her to crush France. Hence the frightful battle of Verdun, which lasted without interruption from the 21st of February to the 15th of December, 1916. It was a continuous thrust, sustained by enormous effectives which were renewed without cessation. The Kronprinz, although aided by the counsels of his skilful mentors, Falkenhayn and Marshal von Hoesler, saw melt away before Verdun the finest troops of Germany, and there lost his prestige. Since that time he has remained the *man defeated at Verdun*.

**The thrust at Verdun.**—Beginning in the middle of February, threats were made along the entire extent of the front, from Ypres to Seppois near Belfort, as if the Germans were attempting to discover a weak

point in the Anglo-French lines. The 21st of February, a bombardment of unheard-of violence was directed against the French positions on the right bank of the Meuse, first, north of Haumont at Ornes, then to the east of Ornes at Fresnes. The French were obliged to withdraw under shelter of Forts Douaumont and Vaux. At the beginning of March, the deluge of iron and fire recommenced, this time on the left bank of the Meuse, at Mort-Homme, at the Côte de l'Oie, at Hill 304. Forges, Bethincourt, Corbeaux Wood were lost (March 6-10). For a moment it was even feared that Joffre might evacuate Verdun.

But the main retirement ceased the evening of February 24. From that time on the French troops disputed foot by foot every position. Castelnau and Pétain were organizing an unbreakable resistance. The railways had been destroyed, but automobile trucks in uninterrupted file, kilometers and kilometers long, succeeded in bringing up 2000 tons of provisions per day. When it was impossible to carry food to the first lines, the unfortunate soldiers had nothing to eat, except their reserve provisions and nothing to drink, except stagnant water accumulated in shell holes from the rain. Life was an infernal nightmare in casemates half crushed in, under chance tunnels as black as pitch, and in trenches where the air was putrid with the odor of dead bodies which it was impossible to burn or to bury. But the heroic soldiers had orders





to hold and they held at no matter what price.<sup>1</sup> The epic attacks against Mort-Homme, against the Forts of Douaumont and Vaux, attacks twenty times repelled and as often renewed, kept the entire world breathless for weeks and months. The valorous chiefs, Nivelle, Mangin, the officers, and even the humblest soldiers covered themselves with glory.

In June, Fort Vaux, which had been receiving 8000 shells a day, after being conquered stone by stone, its moats filled to the top with dead enemies, was surrendered, a smoking ruin, by the excellent Major Raynal.

**Verdun saved.**— This was the most critical moment of the splendid tragedy of Verdun. Damloup fell. The defense was brought back to the line Souville-Fleury-Froideterre, under the very glacis of Verdun. The last offensive, June 22, failed, although the Germans had fired against the line 200,000 asphyxiating shells. They were out of breath. Besides, they had had to send to the Somme several of their best divisions. From July to September, the attacks, followed by the

<sup>1</sup> Here is the harangue of a general to the officers of his brigade on one of the first days of the attack: "Verdun is threatened. There is no need of my concealing from you the truth—we have been surprised. . . . There is no need of my hiding from you our mistakes. What we have to do is to make up for them. You ask about the sector which we are to defend? It is a chaos. The life we shall lead there? Battle! The trenches? There are none. Do not ask me for any equipment; I have none. . . . *Bon courage, gentlemen!*" This general knew how to speak to men of great heart.



bitterest counter-attacks, remained indecisive. The 24th of October, Mangin recaptured Fort Douaumont, "the corner stone of the most powerful fortress of France," as William II had said, the day when he celebrated its capture. The 2nd of November, Nivelle retook Fort Vaux. By December, 1916, the Germans had been pushed back to Côte de Poivre and Bezonvaux, that is to say to just about where they started from. They had lost 500,000 men before Verdun. As for the French troops, without weakening for a moment, they had known the extreme limits of human suffering. Nivelle, who had contributed most to the admirable defense of Verdun, was made generalissimo. Gen. Joffre, the glorious victor of the Marne, had just received the dignity of Marshal of France, in testimony of national gratitude.

**Preparation for the offensive of the Somme.—**

On the Somme, the Allies took the initiative of attack. Their purpose was to relieve the Verdun front and to assist the offensives of the Russians and Italians, by retaining in France as many German divisions as possible. French and English rivaled each other in energy and tenacity. In preparation for the offensive, roads having access to the front were multiplied, shelters were carefully constructed, munitions in abundance were accumulated. Prolonged preliminary artillery fire was to render the attacks more effective

against the enemy and less deadly to the allied troops. Nothing was left to chance.

English efforts were beginning to become efficacious, for 2,250,000 persons, including 400,000 women, were working at munitions. The English war expenses amounted to 129 millions per day. They had raised five million men, of whom one million were serving in France. Vacancies in their ranks were made good as fast as they occurred. The field of action extended on each side of the Somme, from Ancre on a line with Bapaume, to the Avre, on a line with Nesles. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig commanded the English, and Gen. Foch the French, the latter seconded by skilful corps commanders in the persons of Fayolle, Guillaumat, and Micheler. Although unity of command was not yet established, complete agreement as to the conduct of operations existed between the chiefs of the two armies.

**The victory.**— The advance was rapid throughout the month of July. The English on the north bank of the Somme reached successively the lines Mametz-Contalmaison, then Pozières-Longueval; the French, the line Curlu-Hardcourt, on the north of the Somme, and Barleux-Biaches on the south. All German counter-attacks failed. The action languished during the whole month of August, but revived in September. The capture of Bouchavesnes by Fayolle, of Verman-

douvillers by Micheler, . of Combles — the “hinge” where took place the liaison between the French and English sectors — by Guillaumat, brought the Allies to the third German line and to the approaches of Péronne and Chaulnes.

In October, the offensive was stopped. Its results were considerable: along a front of sixty kilometers, the German lines had been crushed in. The enemy had 700,000 men *hors de combat*, of whom 105,000 were prisoners. We had captured 350 cannon and 1500 mitrailleuses. The real result was obtained several months later, when, in the spring of 1917, the Germans retired from the region of the Somme to that of St. Quentin, abandoning as far as the celebrated Hindenburg line a zone of territory which they could no longer hold. Verdun and the Somme — two irreparable blows to German prestige, blows which crowned the triumphs of the French methods of preparation by artillery and aerial observations.

**How the Germans wage war.**— We mentioned, in passing, the atrocities committed in Belgium and France during the great invasion of 1914. It will be worth while to return to this subject, in order to show that the pillagings were not an accident, but the result of a system, and that this system, instead of becoming less brutal, went on becoming more and more unbearable as long as the war lasted. The *Kriegsbrauch*, that is to say the *service while in campaign*, decreed by the Ger-

man Great General Staff, lays down the principle that war should seek *to destroy all the resources, both material and intellectual, of the enemy*. This practice presents further the advantage of reducing the enemy to despair. By leaving him *only eyes with which to weep*, you force him to desire immediate peace, at any price. In this manner the Germans claim that they shorten war and act humanely.

**Military terrorism.**—Military terrorism is, then, an element of the German method of waging war. A *special section of incendiaries*, with “fire bombs” that never fail, is charged with burning cities and villages; pillage is the *work of a regular service of the department of military prizes*. The Germans are never at a lack for ingenious pretexts. The massacres of Belgium took place because “snipers” had killed German soldiers and because Belgian girls were putting out the eyes of German wounded — sad lies which have never deceived any one! The bombardments of Rheims are explained as being due to the presence in the towers of the cathedral of a French post of observation — and how often did the bombardment recommence, despite the indignant protests of Cardinal Luçon! At St. Dié, under pretext that shots had been fired from the windows of houses, German officers placed French civilians in front of their troops — men, women and children — and sheltered themselves like cowards behind those bucklers of living flesh.

Then, too, the right of requisition can justify everything and "the right of requisition has no other limits than the exhaustion and destruction of the country" (Klausewitz).

That is how, in the invasion of 1914, *military terrorism* was practised, whether in Belgium at Andenne, Aershoot, Dinant, or in France at Lunéville, Senlis, Sermaize, Clermont-en-Argonne, Gerbéviller, Nomény, to cite only the best known cases of destruction.<sup>1</sup> All the facts here mentioned are proved by written orders of German officers or by diaries seized on captured soldiers. It is of course true that the Kaiser, at the beginning of October, 1914, had ninety-three professors and intellectuals of the highest renown in Germany sign an indignant protest against these accusations: "It is not true that we have assassinated hostages, that we have bombarded cathedrals . . .," etc. The plates of the French photographic section are at hand to convict of flagrant falsehood and base servility the consciences of these personages who passed formerly as honorable.

**Economic terrorism. Slavery of individuals.**—With time, German methods improved. Military terrorism not having brought about the capitulation of the French, the Germans began to practise

<sup>1</sup> Officials inquests have been held in France and in Belgium by commissions of magistrates and were being carried on in 1918 in all the liberated regions: see also the works of Bédier, Andler, Chevrillon, etc.

*economic terrorism.* All know their theory of *evacuation*: to empty of inhabitants a conquered territory — even if the vanquished are of equal culture — and confiscate their property in order to install Germans there. These savage enemies were not able to install Germans in the invaded provinces, which they knew they could not keep, but they made the regions a desert in order to ruin competitors who might become dangerous again. The good people of the North, grown men, women and girls, were led away in long lines of slaves, to go to work in Germany in the mines, in war factories or even to dig for the Germans trenches under the fire of French projectiles. “All workmen and women and children of fifteen years are obliged to work in the fields every day including Sunday, from 4 o’clock in the morning till 8 o’clock in the evening, under penalty of the bastinado.” (Order posted at Holnon, near Catelet.) Poor children underwent the prescribed one-hundred blows with a stick. The testimony of the victims has been taken down. So much for the human side.

**The destruction of property.**—Property fared no better than persons. When a city or village was to be evacuated, the section of military prizes presided at the carrying away of all that was worth while in the churches, châteaux, private houses. Officers and non-commissioned officers took charge of all that remained. Whatever was not worth sending to Germany, they

broke to pieces with hammers and finally delivered over to the section of incendiaries, who left nothing on the spot save ruins. At Douai, from thirty to forty automobile vans per day for a month pillaged the city. From Tourcoing, from Roubaix, all industrial machinery was transported to Germany, where companies bought them in, with the intention of selling them back to those from whom they had been stolen, after the signing of peace. At Liévin, at Lens, in all of the rich mines of the Pas-de-Calais, the shafts were destroyed, the galleries inundated and it will require more than four years spent in repairs before the mines can be worked. The Germans deposited, too, in cities which they evacuated, infernal machines with time attachments. They poisoned wells. They left in sight, to tempt children, deadly toys and bon-bons saturated with infectious microbes. They put mines in the sewers, cut the water pipes, etc.

**Picardy after the retreat of 1917.**—In Picardy, at the time of the retreat of 1917, the Germans plowed up the crops, cut down the fruit trees, killed every living thing, men, animals, plants even. The parts of the soil torn by artillery, full of horrible pits dug by shells, and the neighboring cones which the explosions threw up, resemble a lunar landscape, torn to pieces by a cosmic catastrophe. The villages systematically devastated by the Germans lay heaped up in gigantic piles of filth.

Here is what William II wrote at the beginning of the war to his accomplice, Francis-Joseph: "My soul is torn, but it is necessary to put everything to fire and blood, to slaughter men and women, children and the aged, to leave standing not a tree nor a house. By employing these methods of terror, the only ones capable of impressing a *people as degenerate as the French*, the war will be over within two months, whilst if I listen to humanitarian considerations, it may be prolonged for years."<sup>1</sup>

Hindenburg declared that he would leave "France gasping and Belgium expiring." The *Berliner Tageblatt* said in August, 1918: "One thing which cannot be disputed to our armies is the total destruction of a new corner of France. At night one can contemplate the conflagration which is devouring crops and forests. It is a consoling spectacle."<sup>2</sup> There you have what William II wanted! There you have the crimes ordered by the Stengers, the Bissings, by Lancken, the executioner of Edith Cavell at Brussels, by Zoelfner, the executioner of Lille,—crimes approved by the educators of German youth, carried out by a brutal soldiery

<sup>1</sup> *Journal des Débats*, October 31, 1918, cited from the *Bulletin de la Société de législation comparée*.

<sup>2</sup> Four Germans only have dared to protest publicly against the war and its horrors: the anonymous author of *J'accuse*; Prince Lichnowsky, former ambassador at London; Dr. Muelhon, one of the directors of the Krupp works, and Professor Foerster of Munich. All the members of the Reichstag, without excepting a single Socialist, voted for the war credits.



full of the demoniac madness of *schaden Freude* — the pleasure of shed blood, of smoking flesh. There you have the product of *German cultur*. What ex-  
piation can equal such crimes?

## CHAPTER IX

### THE RUIN OF RUSSIA

(1916-1918)

A sad story it is, or, rather, a lamentable tragedy in three acts: the Russian betrayal, which causes the ruin of Rumania; the Russian revolution, which brings a breaking with the Entente; finally, Bolshevism, cause of the falling into fragments of the Russian world. Russia is delivered over to Germany by the peace of Brest-Litovsk.

**The Russian betrayal.**—At the very beginning of the war, latent treason paralyzed the action of the great Russian body. It had been hoped that a formidable avalanche of men would descend on Germany from the east, crushing everything in its passage, and the Entente experienced the painful surprise of campaigns begun ardently in the spring season only to end in unwarranted retreats at the arrival of autumn. Cannon and munitions, instead of becoming little by little more abundant, became more and more lacking, in spite of quantities sent from France, England and Japan. The Russian soldier fought well, and the officers led their men bravely. But certain great generals

were suspected. Rennenkampf had allowed the Germans to escape when he had them encircled at the four rivers. Col. Manuilof was hanged as a traitor. Minister of War Sukhromlinov, whose wife was an Austrian, was convicted of crooked relations with the enemy, after a trial known to all. Finally, two ministers, Protopopof and Stürmer, planned to detach Russia from the Entente.

**Rumania in the war.**— Stürmer decided Rumania's entry into the war by promising her the aid of a Russian army, which he neglected to provide. Rumania was in a difficult position. Since 1883, Carol von Hohenzollern, her sovereign, was the ally of the Central Powers, under the same conditions as Italy. His nephew, Ferdinand, who succeeded to the throne in October, 1914, allowed himself to be won over to the nationalistic ideas of his people, who wanted to deliver the Rumanians of Transylvania from the yoke of the Hungarians. None the less, the patriotic minister Bratiano saw himself forced to provide the Central Empires with wheat and petroleum. The Austrians and Bulgarians were urging the King to demobilize the Rumanian troops or to join them to the Austro-Germans. The Rumanians, who are of Latin race, preferred to listen to the appeals which reached them from their brothers in France and Italy. On August 17, 1916, a treaty was signed with the representatives of the Entente, which assured to Rumania, as a reward



for her entry into the war, the annexation of the unredeemed provinces.

On the 27th of August, the same day as Italy, Rumania declared war on Germany. Russia had promised the aid of 200,000 men. She sent less than 20,000. Stürmer hoped to cause the defeat of the Rumanians, and to find in this defeat a pretext for a separate peace with Germany.

**Successful beginnings in Transylvania.**—The Rumanians would have been able to strike a decisive blow by cutting the Belgrade-Constantinople road, acting in concert with the army at Saloniki, whose security on the Grecian side had been attained by sending the French fleet to cruise in the waters of the Piræus. Constantine had just turned over to the Bulgarians the fortresses of Grecian Macedonia. He was justly under suspicion by the Entente. The Rumanians, obeying probably some unhealthy suggestions of the Russians, preferred to invade Transylvania, where they acted in isolation from their allies. They took easily the defile of Toemoes with Brasso (Kronstadt), that of the Red Tower with Sibiu (Hermannstadt), and the iron gates of Orsova. Their oppressed brothers of the banat of Temeswar were about to be freed, and Europe applauded (September, 1916).

**Envelopment of the Rumanian army.**—But Mackensen, having constituted a powerful offensive mass of German, Bulgarian and Turkish divisions, in-

vaded Dobrudja, seized Silistria and the line from Czernavoda to Costanza. The Russians tried to block the movement, but what could 20,000 men, lacking in munitions, accomplish? During this time, the Rumanians, masters of the upper valley of the Olt (Aluta), were endeavoring to penetrate into that of the Maros. It was at this moment that took place the great enveloping movement attempted by Falkenhayn to join Mackensen and throw the Rumanians down into Moldavia. The Wallachian plain was invaded by the all-powerful German army. The Rumanians, in order to escape being surrounded, abandon Orsova and all the defiles of the south-eastern Carpathians (November), and Pitesci, Ploesci, in the region of the petroleum wells, are lost. The Rumanian government retires to Jassy. Bucharest, in spite of its eighteen detached forts, falls under the heavy artillery of Mackensen, who has combined the four groups of Falkenhayn's divisions and holds them well in hand. The 6th of December, Mackensen enters Bucharest. Focsani and Braila fall in January, 1917. The excellent Rumanian army of Averesco still fights desperately, clinging to the eastern Carpathians on the one side, protected on the other by the deep cañon of the Sereth, endeavoring to save Moldavia.<sup>1</sup> The promised Russian army has not ap-

<sup>1</sup> General Berthelot had been sent into Rumania with French troops and munitions. He labored efficaciously to keep together and to reorganize the Rumanian army.

peared and Wallachia and the mouths of the Danube are lost (1917).

**The Russian revolution.**—Now occurred the Russian revolution, which caused surprise only to those poorly informed. The revolution of October, 1905, which followed the Russo-Japanese war, had forced the Czar to grant a constitution. But Nicholas II had taken back in detail the concessions torn from him by force, so much so that the fourth Duma, which had been sitting since 1914, was far from being a representative national body, by reason of distinctions due to property rights and patrician privileges. For example, 130,000 nobles had the same number of representatives as 130 millions of peasants. The mass of the Russian nation was divided, it said, as follows: 5 per cent. of intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, men educated in the universities; 15 per cent. of Germans or agents of Germany, who filled the bureaux and the high places at the court; and 80 per cent. of ignorant peasants, inclined to mystic reveries, easy to mislead by any craze whatever, accustomed to servitude by long centuries of Tartarism and Czarism. The priests, drunken, gross, despised, had no influence on the peasant. The high clergy, ardent defenders of despotism, favored, in addition, distrust of all non-Russians who were at the same time non-orthodox — the Finlanders, who were Lutherans, the Poles, who were Catholics, and the Jews against whom were or-





ganized, with the connivance of the police, hideous pogroms. The court, where the monkish adventurer Rasputin had been for a long time the dispenser of all favors, where German influences, thanks to the Czarina, Princess of Hesse, dominated, where the rule was to reject all reform, to kill every liberal idea — the court was profoundly unpopular and could not in any way bolster up the influence of the Czar. The Russians had just betrayed Rumania; famine raged at Petrograd and provoked among the workingmen a rebellious agitation which increased constantly.

**Abdication of Nicholas II.**— In the midst of this effervescence, the Duma was prorogued. It refused to be dissolved. Strikes began. The garrison of Petrograd mutined, having with it the sympathy of the Duma, and *soviets* or committees of resistance were already formed among the workingmen and soon spread to the soldiers. The Czar, who was returning from the Great General Headquarters, yielded to the demand of abdication which was made to him. He abdicated, not in favor of his son, from whom he did not wish to be separated, but in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael, who refused the throne, being unwilling to hold power unless through the authority of a constitutional assembly. Czar Nicholas II was a weak prince, who, like Louis XVI, knew how to do no more than to manifest good intentions. Let us not forget, however, that he was faithful to the French alli-

ance, despite his wife and his entourage; that, through love of peace, he was the prime mover in the two conferences at the Hague, in 1899 and 1907, and that he had succeeded in suppressing in Russia the curse of alcoholism, by forbidding the sale of vodka (brandy). His letter of abdication is of beautiful and lofty inspiration.<sup>1</sup> What was his fate? He and all the imperial family were arrested and moved from fortress to fortress. . It is possible that he may return some day, he or his double. There has already been in Russia more than one false Dimitri (March 11-13, 1917).

**The Duma and the soviets.**—This revolution, which had profound causes and had so easily swept aside an autocracy several centuries old, surprised Europe much. The Duma tried to assume power, by constituting a provisional government with the leaders of the *cadet* party (*K D*, that is, Constitutional Dem-

<sup>1</sup> "In the days of the great struggle against the foreign enemy who has been trying for three years to enslave our motherland, God has willed to put Russia to a new and painful test. Internal disorders threaten to exert a fatal repercussion on the ulterior course of this tenacious war. The destinies of Russia, the honor of our heroic army, the happiness of the people, the entire future of our beloved motherland require that the war be, at any cost, brought to a victorious conclusion.

"In these days that will decide the fate of Russia, we have felt that we owed it to our conscience to aid our people in attaining a close union and an organization of all its forces for the rapid realization of victory.

"This is why, in accord with the Duma of the Empire, we have recognized the desirability of abdicating the State crown and laying down the supreme power."

ocrats), namely: Miliukof, Gutschkof, Rodzianko, Kerensky, under the presidency of Prince Lvof. But the Duma, whose parliamentary shade of opinion was moderate, had to share the power with the *soviets* of the workingmen and soldiers, delegates who had received no mandates and who caused the revolution to slip into the basest demagogism. The *soviets* destroyed all organization and discipline, promising immediate peace to the soldiers, and to the peasants land.

**Last effort of the Russians. Powerlessness of Kerensky.**—In vain the brilliant lawyer Kerensky tried to exercise a national dictatorship (May, 1917), by utilizing Tereschenko, Tzeretelli, Savinkof, the most intelligent members of the Soviets. Work in the fields and factories ceased. The railway employees abandoned the railways, and provisions no longer reached the cities. The soldiers, after having long fraternized with the Germans, who encouraged their most culpable excesses, massacred their officers and selected, to replace them, the very worst among themselves. Soldiers deserted *en masse*, to go and take their share of the lands to be partitioned. German agents spent gold by the handful in order to increase the anarchy and wrest from the Russians a separate peace.

There was however a last spasm of energy. Kerensky had proclaimed "the country in danger." Brusilof, selected as generalissimo, tried a new invasion of Galicia, took Halicz and 36,000 prisoners (July 1—

13, 1917). It was an awakening that had no morrow. Fraternizations and desertions recommenced more numerous than ever. Columns of deserters, sure of impunity, covered the roads in the rear, demanding peace and lands. Bukowina was lost, then Livonia. The Kaiser made a solemn entry at Riga, "founded by the ancient German Hanseatic mind." Timid attempts at opposition failed. Korniloff tried to break the tyranny of the soviets of Petrograd by means of the sound elements which still remained in the army. He was disavowed by Kerensky at the last moment. Kaledine committed suicide from despair at not having been able to persuade the Cossacks of the Don to act in the interest of public safety. Kerensky spoke much and well, but either he did not know how to act, or he could not. He had proclaimed the Russian Republic (September 17, 1917) and decreed the assembling of a Constitutional Convention, selected by universal suffrage of both men and women. But after the riots of July at Petrograd, he had released the Bolshevik chiefs of the soviets, instead of putting them where they could do no injury. Everything was ready for the cowardly abandonment of the Allies and the supreme treason of a separate peace.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Revolutionary Socialists who demand immediately the maximum of social reforms are called Bolsheviks or Maximalists. By *maximum*, they mean the socialization of all industrial and rural property, that is, the spoliation of those who possess for the profit of those who have nothing.

**Dictatorship of Lenine and Trotsky.**—Kerensky fell from power as a result of the coup d'état of November 10, 1917. The Bolsheviks Lenine and Trotsky took possession of the government. Were they agents in the pay of Germany? Many affirm so. Up to the present, it has not been proved. But they arrived from Switzerland via Germany, with the consent of Germany and did not cease to work for Germany. These two have something of the manner of statesmen, but as for their blind followers — Zinovief, Skobelev, the adjutant Krylenko, who was proclaimed generalissimo, Joffe, who was promoted to be ambassador at Berlin — they were a rabble of bandits who had nothing in their favor except their criminal audacity. Lenine and Trotsky claimed to be imitating the Terror of 1793, but the Constitution of 1793 recognized the right of property as inviolable and decreed that no body of legislators under arms was capable of deliberating. The French " '93 " was a great movement of idealism and patriotism, where the order of the day was the struggle against tyrants. The result of the struggle was the victory of Fleurus and the conquest of the frontier of the Rhine. The Russian " '93 " was an appeal to the basest passions, to the brutal spoliation of the rich, to cowardice before an invading enemy. With the access of Bolshevism, Russia fell into putrefaction.

**Decomposition of Russia.**—All Russia fell into

fragments. Finland, as far as the White Sea, the Ukrainian Republic as far as the Black Sea and Crimea, then Georgia, the Caucasus, Turkestan, Siberia, proclaimed their independence. Lenine and Trotsky published the secret treaties concluded by the Czar for the occupation of Constantinople and the Straits, treacherously denounced the alliance with France, who had taken up arms in 1914 out of fidelity to Russia. They affected to believe that the contagion of the Russian revolution would reach Germany. The beauty of Bolshevism had, however, nothing very attractive.

**The peace of Brest-Litovsk.**—Negotiations for an armistice, which was soon to end in a shameful peace, began at Brest-Litovsk (December, 1917). The Russian army had been disbanded. The Constitutional Assembly, the legal representative of all Russia, had been dissolved by force the very day of its first meeting. Trotsky arrived unarmed at the conference of Brest-Litovsk and had to submit to the hard terms of the victor, terms dictated by the diplomat Kühlmann and the brutal General Hoffmann. By virtue of the treaty signed the 3rd of March, 1918, Russian Poland, Lithuania and Courland were ceded to Germany. Finland and the Ukraine formed independent states, where the Kaiser hoped to install German princes.

But the stipulations of the treaty of March 3rd were aggravated by additions made August 30, 1918, which abandoned to Germany Livonia, Esthonia and Georgia



— whose fate had been left undecided — and stipulated *an indemnity of six billion marks* for damages inflicted on German property in Russia. Rumania, deprived of all support, yielded in her turn by the treaty of Bucharest, as follows: to the Hungarians the passes of the Carpathians; to the Bulgarians, Dobrudja; to the Germans, full disposition of grain and petroleum. In Rumania, as in the Ukraine, the Germans sought abundant and immediate provisions. Such is what the Reichstag calls a peace *without annexations and indemnities*. By these treaties the Germans became masters of all the southern and eastern shore of the Baltic, and they assumed control over the grain of the Ukraine and Rumania and the petroleum of Baku.

**Bolshevism.**— Henceforth, under the dictatorship of Lenine and Trotsky, Bolshevism ruled in Russia — Bolshevism, that is to say, armed pillage of cellars, safes, and, in general, all urban and rural property. It involved also the massacre of all who had either education or property. In the midst of the most disgusting saturnalia, officers, intellectuals and proprietors allowed themselves to be slaughtered with the spirit of non-resistance to evil which is the basis of Tolstoyism. The assassins were the Red Guards, who were recruited among factory hands out of work, deserters and liberated German prisoners who were marched about by their officers. The Red Guards alone re-



ceived big pay and abundant food in the presence of universal distress. One can understand their fidelity to the régime.

Will the German leprosy spread to the whole Russian body? Will Russia remain an amorphous and disarticulated mass, an easy prey for the keen German economic conquest? Or will she fall into the hands of a strong and liberty-giving power, when she has ended her civil war? To-morrow will answer this enigma. We have no doubt that the great Russian nation will succeed in pulling herself together and escaping from anarchy.

**The German retreat.**—The Allies had hoped that the close of the war was approaching. But the wearing-out contest was to continue on all the western front throughout the entire year 1917, as a result of the collapse of Russia. We know that the Germans, badly damaged by the offensive of the Somme during the summer of 1916, had been obliged, early in the spring, to shorten their line. They had evacuated all the region of Picardy and the Ile-de-France, clear to the vicinity of St. Quentin and the plateau of St. Gobain, leaving behind them a desert without a living thing, animal or plant.

**The Hindenburg and Siegfried lines.**—In the spring of 1917, Gen. Gough discovered that he had in front of him only a screen of troops, and entered Bapaume, Péronne and Chaulnes without having to

fight. At Bapaume the town hall was intact. After ten days, it was blown up by an infernal machine with time attachment, burying an English staff and two French deputies, Briquet and Talandier. There was a similar retreat of the enemy opposite the French sectors. Gen. Fayolle entered without resistance Nesle, Roye, Lassigny, Noyon. This last city alone was standing, because the Germans had not had time to destroy it (March, 1917). Gen. Humbert advanced as far as the Forest of Coucy and Tergnier. The Germans blew up the venerable donjon of Coucy, one of the proudest ruins of ancient feudal France. It is estimated that Germans in their retreat blew up with cheddite 264 villages, 225 churches, and that they burned not less than 40,000 houses.

They protected their new lines, shaped not unlike a carpenter's square, with fortifications extending some distance in the rear. The Hindenburg line, running north and south from Arras to the plateau of St. Gobain and strongly supported by the canal of St. Quentin, the canal Crozat and the inundations of La Fère, made a right angle with the Siegfried line, running west and east through the Ile-de-France, from the plateau of St. Gobain to Rheims. This line was strengthened by another, the Hunding line, along the Serre. The Germans had neglected nothing which would permit them to hide in safety in the earth behind entrenchments which they thought invincible—they had pre-

pared entanglements of barbed wire, multiple trenches on parallel lines, shelters of reinforced concrete carefully camouflaged for the heavy artillery, railways for bringing up provisions, aerodromes. They boasted of their strategic retreat as a genial manoeuvre, and they erected to its author, Marshal Hindenburg, a colossal idol of wood, into which his adorers were allowed to drive nails of gold, silver or iron, according to the price they paid for their consecrated offering. A singular manifestation of German art and of German mentality!

**The spring campaign of 1917.**— To force such defenses, defended with desperation by nearly 1,500,000 Germans, the Franco-British possessed the advantage in numbers and were beginning to have the advantage also in equipment. It was necessary to wear out the enemy all along the front by a constant pressure and to try to carry the two bastions of the Hindenburg and Siegfried lines, the bastion of Vimy on the English sector in the north, and the plateau of Craonne, which faced the French lines. This formed the double operation of the spring of 1917, which was prepared to the most minute detail with the greatest accumulation of means of attack ever utilized.

**Nivelle's army at the Chemin des Dames.**— The new offensive in Champagne was conducted by the new generalissimo, Nivelle, and by his aid, Pétain. Mangin, with his valorous army of Colonials advanced to

the west of Craonne, whilst Mazel struck at the gap of Juvincourt and Anthoine took position east of Rheims on the massif of Moronvilliers. At the west, Micheler took the salient of Vailly, the mill of Laffaux and the fort of Condé (April 16-18). The losses of the Kronprinz were formidable. The attack commenced well, although it was hampered by flurries of snow which prevented aerial observations.

There was, however, in France a certain disillusionment. It had been hoped that the German line would be pierced, that the attack would reach Laon, yet neither the massif of Craonne nor that of St. Gobain had been carried. Pessimists exaggerated the losses, which they were not in a position to know. It was claimed, too, that the ambulance service had been poorly arranged, and that the wounded perished through lack of care. There was talk of parliamentary intervention to stop the attack which had been so brilliantly begun. Is it true that the minister of War, Painlevé, nervous and timid, gave orders to stop the advance? The whole affair is still wrapped in obscurity, but one thing is sure: Nivelle was succeeded as generalissimo by Pétain, with Foch as chief of the General Staff. The attack was not continued until the 4th to the 6th of May. Craonne and the Chemin des Dames, which follows the crest between the Aisne and the Ailette, were captured, and this was the crowning of the fine offensive of April.

**The English in Artois and in Flanders.**— In the north, the English generals Horne and Allenby had taken Givenchy and Liévin and had invested Lens (April 9–14). The action soon spread from St. Quentin to Ypres. Douai and Cambrai were seriously menaced. The victory of Messines (June, 1917) was the most important exploit of the campaign of Flanders, which was directed by Gen. Plumer. He had exploded at the same instant nineteen mines, which tore out craters deep enough to swallow up houses of nine stories, whilst English aviators threw down on the enemy a new Greek fire. Kronprinz Rupprecht of Bavaria had no more success in opposing the armies of Douglas Haig than the Kronprinz of Prussia against the armies of Nivelle and Pétain. The Germans lost 64,500 prisoners, more than 500 cannon and more than 1300 machine-guns. Their losses as officially reported since 1914 had been 4,700,000 soldiers and officers. The English and French had taken the powerfully fortified crests of Vimy, the Chemin des Dames and Moronvilliers, and had thrown the enemy back into the plain. The “wearing-out” process seemed in a good way to succeed.

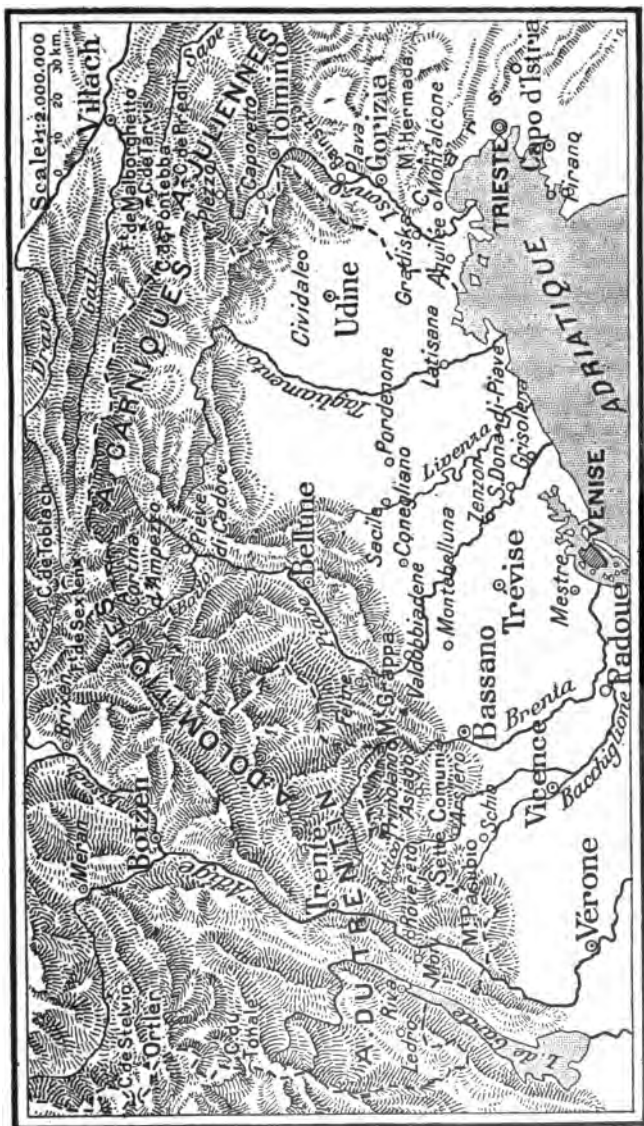
**The autumn campaign.**— The autumn of 1917 was marked by unsuccessful counter-attacks of the Germans. In Flanders, the French general, Anthoine, and the English generals Gough and Plumer defeated the troops of von Arnim at Langemarck and Zonnebeke,

thanks to immense preparations of artillery and despite diluvian rains (August-September). On the plateau of Craonne and at the Chemin des Dames, Gen. Maistre stopped the special "shock troops" (*Stross-truppen*) of the imperial Kronprinz. Finally, this same prince lost before Verdun his last points of observation on both banks of the Meuse. Gen. Guillaumat, well seconded by his corps commanders, Passaga and Pauffin de St. Maurel, carried Mort-Homme, Hill 304, the Woods of Beaumont and Fosses. The Germans were driven back as far as Bezonvaux (August-September, 1917). This was the definite close of the operations before Verdun, which were begun the 21st of February, 1916.

**The débâcle of Caporetto. Italy recovers.**—In Italy, the Russian disaster caused a lamentable débâcle. The Kaiser wanted to stop the Italian advance toward Laybach and Trieste, which was threatening his "brilliant second." Numerous German troops were sent toward the Carso, under command of Mackensen, to try again, in favor of the Austrians, the plan of campaign which had succeeded so well in Rumania—to strike a decisive blow against the weakest enemy. By means of a double manœuvre in favor of peace—a manœuvre prepared with equal perfidy by the extreme parties, the Socialists and the Papists—The Austro-Germans carried on perfidious fraternization with several Italian brigades of the Second Army. The

Italian soldiers were assured that their women and children had been driven to rioting by hunger and were exposed to the most cruel treatment. The entire Italian Second Army gave way, trusting to the German assurances. It was with general stupefaction that people learned piece after piece of bad news — that the front had broken, the line of the Isonzo been carried, Udine lost, Venetia invaded, and the hostile hosts transported across the Tagliamento as far as the Piave. An immense amount of equipment and provisions had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Under this undeserved blow of fortune, Italy pulled herself together. The patriot Orlando replaced Boselli in the direction of affairs, and Diaz replaced Cadorna at the head of the armies. Acting under orders of Foch and de Fayolle, numerous French contingents, as also English regiments under the orders of Plumer, joined the Italians in stopping the Austro-Germans. At the inter-allied conference held at Rapallo, the question of unity of command was on the point of being settled. Finally, all the German rushes were stopped. When the Austrians, left alone by the departure of the German divisions, tried unaided to seize again the offensive on the plateau of Asiago and on the Piave, they failed miserably (June, 1918). The defection of Russia had compromised the brilliant successes won on each side of the Alps during the campaign of 1917.



TRENTINO AND CARSO



## CHAPTER X

### AMERICAN AID

**American aid.**—The falling to pieces of Russia might have ruined everything, but it was compensated for by aid from America. The Germans transported from the Russian front all available units and threw into the struggle their last resources. To resist the formidable display of force made by the Germans, who were determined to sweep the Allies off their feet before the arrival of the Americans, required an unforeseen effort on the part of the English, and, especially, a supreme resolution on the part of the French. Success was wrung from fate by the action of a great citizen, Georges Clemenceau, by the fact of having a sole commander of all the allied armies in Marshal Foch, and by the splendid moral attitude of France. By her determination to live, France saved herself from the greatest peril that has ever menaced her.

**Remembrance of France in America. La Fayette.**—Remembrance of France has always been cherished in America. The French were the first to colonize the two great regions of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Many cities in the United States

bear French names: New Orleans, Louisville, Paris, Versailles, Fayetteville, for example. Even to-day, hundreds of thousands of Canadian French populate the north-eastern States of the Union. But especially the aid procured by La Fayette and his volunteer comrades during the War of Independence remains engraved in the heart of the Americans. La Fayette and Washington, inseparably united, are considered the founders of the North American Republic.

**American sympathies.**— At the very beginning of the great war, the sympathies of the *élite* went out to the Entente. This was made evident in innumerable newspaper and magazine articles, and in manifestos from professors and students. The Americans knew that it was Germany who had willed the war, who had violated the neutrality of Belgium, who organized the massacre of hostages and the mutilation of women and children, who ruthlessly destroyed public monuments, which were objects of universal veneration. In the judgment of this *élite* of thinkers, men of affairs and millionaires, Germany had already put herself under the ban of nations. Volunteers came in a stream to enlist under our banners, whilst American physicians and noble and gentle trained nurses formed carefully chosen units for ambulances and model hospitals. Enormous sums were offered at regular intervals to keep alive the starving inhabitants of the invaded territories, Belgians, French, Serbians, Poles, and to take care of

war orphans. The benefactors bore the most illustrious names in America. They gave their money and they were prodigal of their labor.

**Hesitations of opinion.**— But Germans were numerous in the United States. They taught in the majority of the schools, and according to German methods. The American slaves to earn money which gives independence, and is not disinclined to esteem in the German the cult of force and the tenacious roughness which he brings to the struggle for life. The American had little respect for Russia, one of the allies of the Entente, which remained a country of autocracy and servitude until the fall of Nicholas II. We must not forget, too, that the Americans did not permit Europeans to take a hand in the affairs of America, and that they thought that they had no right to intervene in a European conflict. For a long time, they contented themselves with selling to the Allies the munitions and food of which they stood in such need. This proved for the Entente a precious succor, and for America an excellent business affair.

**Bravado of the Germans.**— The Germans made the attempt to stop all commerce between America and the Allies. They recoiled from no violence in their effort to bend opinion in America — destruction of factories where munitions were being manufactured for the Entente; infernal machines with time attachment, placed in steamers about to sail in order to blow them up

when on the high seas — everything seemed right to the Germans. The ambassador Bernstorff and his subordinates, Papen and Boy-Ed, as well as the pangermanist banker, Dernburg, the chief of the German spy system in America, all had a hand in these infamous machinations. Intercepted documents even made known a German attempt to excite Mexico against the United States.

**Torpedoings.**— It was the piracy of the submarine warfare which decided the United States. Without respect for the lives and property of Americans, the Germans torpedoed unarmed vessels which were not carrying contraband of war — after the *Lusitania* (May 7, 1915), the *Sussex* and many others. The long-suffering of the Americans was extreme. To all of President Wilson's notes, which became more and more energetic, to all of his indignant protests, the Germans replied by asking for an investigation, alleging as a pretext that the vessels sunk had struck a mine, or that they were transporting arms and munitions to the Allies. They even had the impudence to get the hypnotized Americans to accept their interpretations of the *commercial submarine* when the submarine *Deutschland* entered the American port of Norfolk. This was a last gesture of bravado which the Germans were unable to repeat, although they claimed to have ready a flotilla of submarines of the same type. Finally the German government declared that it would cease tor-

pedoing when England had raised the blockade of the German coast.

**Declaration of war.**— The rupture was determined by the Kaiser's note of January 31, 1917, which decreed the unrestricted sinking of neutral vessels carrying on commerce with the Allies. Wilson addressed a message to Congress to request a declaration of war against Germany, and it was voted by acclamation (April 4-6, 1917). Here, then, was a young nation of one hundred million souls which threw into the struggle its millions of men, its millions of dollars, its inexhaustible resources in munitions and food, and which was resolved not to let go of the predatory empires until it had crushed them. Brazil and the republics of Latin America followed in the footsteps of the United States, and little by little the neutrals of the entire world rallied to the side of the Entente — Siam, immense China, in all, twenty-nine States. All peoples possessed of self-respect were seized with horror at the perfidy and savagery of the Germans and took up arms in the cause of right and liberty.

**Preparations for war.**— Preparations were destined to occupy long months, for the United States had no army and no war fleet. They first sent their engineers, their surgeons, their physicians, their technicians. A loan of four billions was granted to the Allies. Deputy André Tardieu was designated as high commissioner to explain in detail the needs of France. The

triumphal tour of Viviani, Marshal Joffre and Balfour gave the final touch to enthusiasm. Everything was pooled in common, food and munitions. French interpreters and instructors crossed the Atlantic to teach 6000 aviators and 40,000 officers. The shipyards worked feverishly to construct boats of all tonnage to replace those sunk by submarines, and the German steamers which had been interned in American harbors since 1914 were confiscated.

**Conscription. The Americans in France.**—A first law of conscription put at the disposal of the State nine million soldiers. By extending the age of service to all men between eighteen and forty-five, the law of August, 1918, added to the above a new quota of thirteen million young men subject to draft. The first American brigade debarked in France the 28th of June, 1917. They came via England or directly by our Atlantic ports — Bordeaux, La Palice, Nantes. In this last port they put together their railway material and engines of all sorts. The Americans were all over Brittany. At Romorantin they installed an immense store-house with a distributing station which had not less than forty tracks. Their Grand Headquarters were established at Chaumont. Thither trended the recruits, all young and full of dash, thoroughly provided with the most perfect equipment. They finished their training under the orders of their supreme chief, Gen. Pershing. The memory of La

Fayette was present in their thoughts, and they saw in the French older brothers, whose counsel and experience they followed with docility. By the Fourth of July, 1918, their festival of Independence, there were already in France a million Americans. After that date, they began arriving at the rate of 300,000 per month. France, after having supported for four years the main effort of the war, had need of fresh succor. The Americans were determined to aid her in giving the final impulse which would bring victory.

**Effects of blockade in Germany.**—Germany had hoped through her submarines to reduce the Allies by famine, and it was she who suffered most from the blockade. It is true that she obtained supplies by organized contraband in neutral countries. Sweden remained in free communication with the German ports and furnished iron, manganese, and ferro-silicon. Norway sent fish; Holland and Switzerland, cattle. But the Allies established for the neutrals a fixed quantity of provisions calculated to meet the needs of each one on the basis of pre-war importations. Germany made use of veritable black-mail against her neighbors, Switzerland and Holland, to obtain larger and larger quantities of cattle in exchange for coal. Switzerland found herself between the hammer and the anvil, with France threatening to deprive her of cereals if she delivered too much meat to Germany, and Germany depriving her of coal if cattle did not arrive in suf-

ficient numbers. Germany was soon reduced to a restricted diet, and the "K. K. bread," which was almost entirely innocent of wheat, was imposed on all. A food dictator, Batocki, presided over the distribution of all foods. A director of mobilization, Gen. Groener, looked after the enrolling of women who were to replace, in the factories and fields, the men gone to the war. Ostwald and his legion of chemists labored at discovering *Ersatz*, or substitutes for food. They baptized with the name of coffee brews made from sweet acorns. They made oil from horse-chestnuts. They manufactured artificial rubber. But the chemists, so skilful in producing explosives and poisonous gases, did not succeed in making *delicatessen*, that is the various pork products dear to German stomachs. Every one had to reduce his allowance of beer and draw his belt tighter.

**Increasing distress.**—The promised rations were never fully provided. Distribution failed to take place, through the non-arrival of provisions. Sacking of shops, strikes and riots, which were repressed without pity, did not improve the situation. Beginning with 1916, letters taken on prisoners were filled with the complaints of house-wives about the high price of all articles, the lack of fats and food, and the coming of famine, which fine promises abundantly made could not satisfy. Hopes were revived by the treaties of Brest-Litovsk, Kiev and Bucharest, which were above all



"provision" treaties. But the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Rumanians hid their wheat in their silos. Germans like Mirbach and Gen. von Eichorn, who tried to force the delivery of grain, were assassinated. At the beginning of 1918, Germany was really suffering from hunger, and her rulers began to feel doubts of victory. The chancellors succeeded one another with a precipitation which augured badly; after Bethmann-Hollweg, came Michaelis (July, 1917), after Michaelis, the Bavarian Hertling (November, 1917). All of them made underhanded efforts for peace, without being able to obtain it.

**Life in France in 1917.**—For a fortress which was besieged by the bands of Hindenburg and which was supposed to be reduced to famine by the submarines of Tirpitz, France was getting along very well. To be sure, it had been necessary to impose severe restrictions. Sugar cards, coal cards, bread cards were issued, and the people ate a little less, and, above all, heated their houses less during the winter of 1917-1918. The bread contained many substitutes for wheat flour and was compact and gray, but when one compared this bread of 1918 with the bread eaten by the Parisians during the siege of 1870, one still felt himself fortunate. All articles were costly, but no one was in want, and, despite restrictions, life behind the lines seemed pleasant, compared with that in the trenches and on the battle fields. At the Ministry of

Armament, Loucheur was able to meet the unlimited demand for munitions, thanks to the general employment of women as workers and thanks to that of foreigners. Claveille organized the transport system with praiseworthy activity. The rate of exchange kept going up, which was the infallible barometer of the confidence of the neutrals. The loans for national defense, which were floated every autumn, had an increasing success, for people felt sure that the national debt would be guaranteed by victory.<sup>1</sup>

**Changes in the ministries.**— The attitude “ behind the lines ” was, then, excellent, and the country did not become discouraged. None the less, it was not governed by hands sufficiently firm.

The government of national defense, instituted August 26, 1914, had as chief the eloquent orator Viviani, who was prime minister, with Millerand in charge of the portfolio of War, Briand in charge of Justice, Delcassé in charge of Foreign Affairs and the Socialists Jules Guesde and Sembat as principal aids. This ministry gave way on November 3, 1915, to a new ministry presided over by Briand, who won the

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting, by the way, to compare the results of the four loans for national defense. The following table is in millions of francs:

1915	5%.	Nominal amount subscribed	15,205.	Actual amount	13,308
1916	"	"	"	11,514	"
1917	4%.	"	"	14,803	"
1918	"	"	"	30,000	"

confidence of the Allies by his lofty qualities as a statesman. Endowed with keen penetration and with wonderful common sense, he quickly divined the duplicity of Ferdinand of Bulgaria and saw the necessity of going to the assistance of Serbia, as well as Belgium. His counsels were not listened to until too late, but his authority imposed itself more and more in the conferences of the Allies. He led to a more frequent calling of these conferences in order to augment the cohesion of the Entente. In his reply to the first suggestions of President Wilson, he succeeded in having accepted the celebrated formula: *Restitution, reparation, guarantee*. Unfortunately, Briand was not sufficiently combative. After having recast and strengthened his ministry by including General Lyautey as minister of War and Herriot, the mayor of Lyons, as minister of Public Works (December 7, 1916), he fell from power under the many attacks of the Socialists.

He was replaced at the head of the new cabinet by Ribot, one of the most venerated members of parliament, a man toward whom gratitude was felt for his financial management since 1914 (March 20, 1917). But opinion was becoming nervous. Disquietude increased at the failure of the attempt to pierce the line of the Chemin des Dames. Some accused the leaders of having caused the death of too many soldiers, while others reproached the government with having, on the

other hand, stopped the advance when victory was within grasp.

**Defeatist propaganda.**— Infamous calumnies were whispered about in the dark. At one moment, it was asserted that sons of millionaires had found safe employment, to avoid service at the front; at another, that the Socialists and Free Masons were all mobilized — in factories. These rumors, although due to bad faith, or spies, found belief. Then, the Chambers held too often secret sessions, which irritated public curiosity. Again, the impenitent Internationalists, after not having attended the meetings at Kienthal and Zimmerwald, wanted to go to the Congress of Stockholm, without being shocked at the thought of meeting there in time of war the Socialists of the Central Empires. The latter were hand in glove with their governments, and labored wholly to sow division among the Allies. There were at Paris, Bourges and St. Etienne disquieting strikes, which began in the clothing factories. Soon nearly 100,000 idlers were out on strike. Newspapers, tracts, lectures preached immediate peace — the *white peace*, such as the Germans were demanding — and spread their doctrine in increasing volume, encouraged by the connivance of the civil authorities. Clemenceau denounced this defeatist propaganda from the tribune of the Senate (July, 1917), and Ribot refused passports for the Socialists who wanted to attend the Congress of Stockholm, but when

he had to yield the premiership to the learned mathematician Painlevé (September 13, 1917), the Socialists refused to accept any portfolios under the new ministry, which was unable to maintain itself more than two months. It was necessary to stop at any cost the pacifist intrigues, assisted as they were by complicity with the enemy, to put an end to the occult politics of secret sessions, and restore confidence by drawing tighter the bonds of the holy union among the French and thus increasing the cohesion among the members of the Entente.

**The Clemenceau ministry.**—President Poincaré requested Georges Clemenceau to form a new ministry, in which the following, among other distinguished political leaders, accepted portfolios: Stephen Pichon, Foreign Affairs; Klotz, Finance; Pams, the Interior; Leygues, the Navy; V. Boret, Provisions; Clémentel, Commerce, while Loucheur and Claveille retained their respective portfolios of Armament and Transportation (November 17, 1917). France asked to be governed, and governed she was. Clemenceau arrived at the premiership laden with years, with hair turned white by much experience and much deep thought, but with indomitable energy and the patriotism of a young man. As prime minister, he knew how to take responsibilities, and accomplished in all its magnitude his duty as minister and statesman, and yet did so in a simple, strong, dignified manner. In the interior of the

country, he brought vicious propaganda to a sudden stop by saying "No" to the mistaken idealists who wanted to go to Petrograd to flirt with the Bolsheviks. He did not hesitate to have traitors executed or to imprison defeatists. This man, who possesses an in-born eloquence, springing from the heart, ceased speaking — he acted. His program? "I am making war; allow me to win the war; will you let me get back to my business?" There were no more newspapers insinuating treason; no more dangerous conferences. The menacing conditions disappeared of themselves. The great liberator gave no evidence as prime minister of the ideas which he had professed all his life when in the opposition. He even softened the rigors of the censorship. He relied on moral dictatorship, which he exercised in all its power.

**The policy of Clemenceau.**— In his foreign policy, a worthy partner of Lloyd George, Orlando and Wilson, he galvanized the action of the Allies by drawing tighter the bonds of the Entente and by getting all to accept the unity of command. His silhouette became popular. Illustrators liked to reproduce his rugged face, that of a benevolent grumbler, his heavy mustache and his soft felt hat. He appeared among the armies, by the side of the President of the Republic and the great generals, comforting the soldiers in the trenches, at times even under fire, but without any false bravado. Like Gambetta, he was able, in the

hour of supreme danger, to incarnate the soul of the motherland. It had been given him to protest with Gambetta against the mutilation of France in 1871. More fortunate than Gambetta, he prepared the definitive victory which restored forever the two lost provinces. Clemenceau, the great Frenchman, will be for posterity the glorious liberator of French territory, and, a new Richelieu, the unifier of the land of France.

**The moment of greatest peril to the Entente.—**

The year 1918 opened on a most somber prospect. The Russian revolution was gliding into bloody anarchy, and Russia, in the hands of the Bolshevik traitors, was given over to Germany. Under those circumstances, the Kaiser's general staff, profiting from the central position of Germany, could bring into France, where the great game was being decided, the 200 divisions—that is, more than 2,000,000 combatants—that had become useless on the eastern front. Under this irresistible *peace offensive*, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, to whom William II, seeing victory escape him, had confided the responsibility of military decisions, expected to crush the sublime “poilus.” This was the moment of the greatest peril to the Entente.

**The martyred cities.—**As a prelude to the offensive which all expected, bombardment of the martyred cities began again with increasing intensity. At Dunkirk and Calais, people lived only in cellars.

Rheims received in the space of a few days 65,000 shells. The inhabitants had refused to leave; and teachers had continued to teach their young flocks in cellars, but now it was necessary to evacuate the city. At Nancy, entire quarters of the city were laid in ruins. Raids of *Gothas* became more frequent over Paris, killing innocent victims, crushing houses, enervating the people, who were forced to descend into subterranean shelters at the lugubrious call of the siren. The cities of the other Allies were equally damaged. London could no longer count the raids of the sinister birds. At Venice, the churches, the ducal palace, all the marvels of that noble home of art were struck or menaced. People had been surprised that Dunkirk could be reached by a heavy cannon thirty-two kilometers distant. On the eve of Palm Sunday, Paris was painfully surprised by a bombardment of *Berthas* (*Bertha* is the name of the heiress who inherited the Krupp works). These cannons were placed in the Forest of Coucy, more than 100 kilometers from the capital! On Holy Friday, during the service, a shell crashed through the church of St. Gervais, making numerous victims.

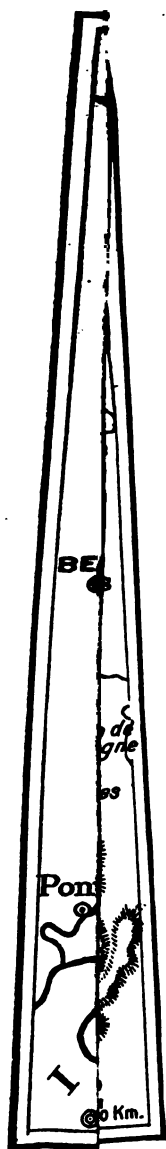
**Raids of aviators.**—It is true that the Allies returned with interest the damage received. Twice a day the communiqués mentioned at length the dashing prowess of Allied aviators, who destroyed distributing railway stations (at Conflans, Metz-Sablons and how

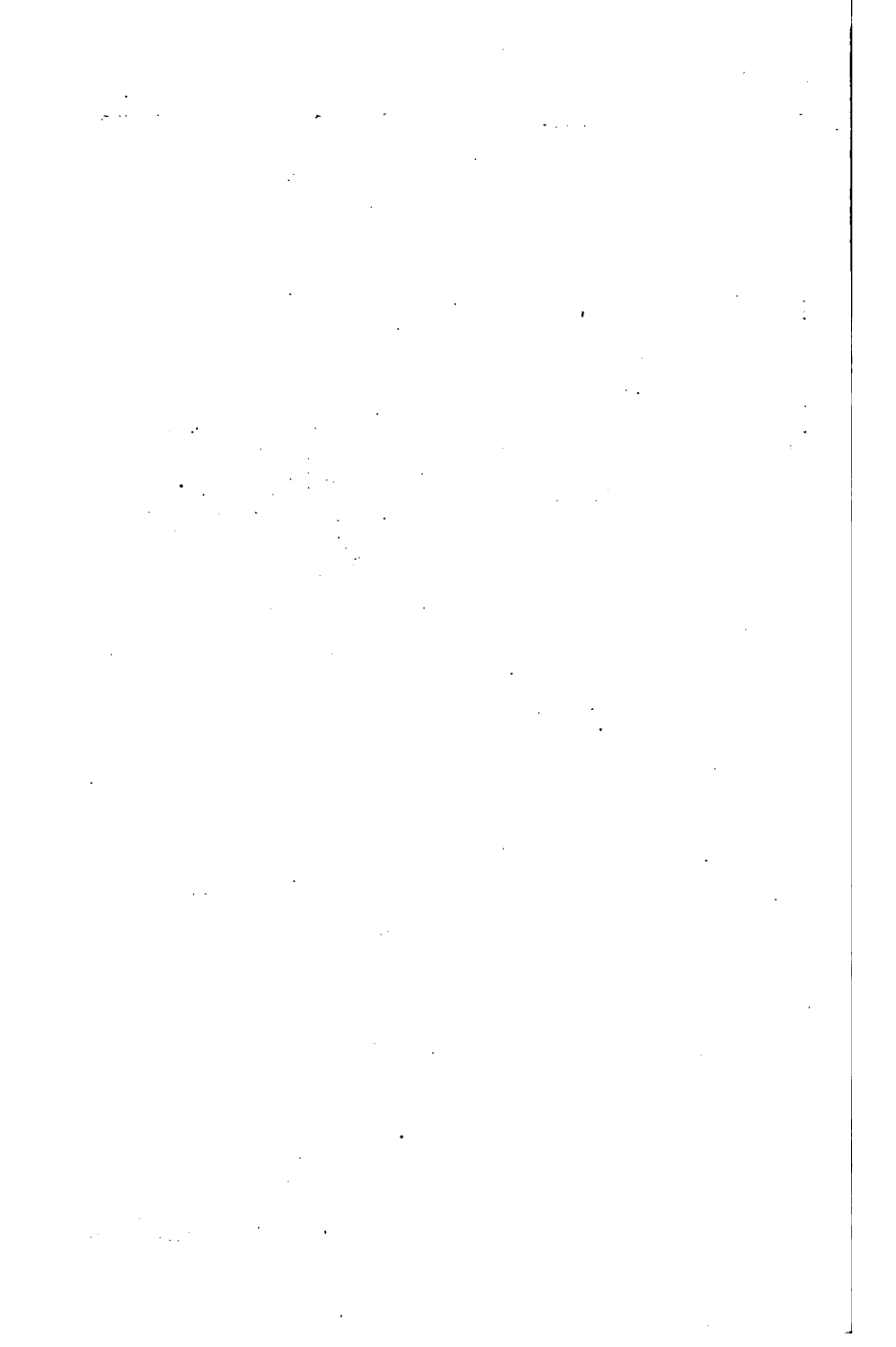


many other places!), blowing up depots of munitions, whilst the English went after Zeebrugge and Ostend, and, in the way of reprisals, carried to the cities of the Rhine some of the ravages which were bleeding the cities of Northern France. Coblenz, Cologne, Mülheim, Frankfort and Carlsruhe received more than one visit and clamored without success for the cessation of these aerial expeditions, whose culpable initiative had come from the Germans. The uncontested mastery of the air had passed to France and England.

**Military operations.**— In the way of military operations, General Maistre had finished the conquest of the Chemin des Dames (October-November, 1917). The English, after winning on the Scarpe, had surprised the Germans and threatened Cambrai; but this advantage was lost a few days later, through lack of liaison in the operations of the Allies.

**German offensive of 1918.**— The formidable offensive of the Germans to reach a conqueror's peace took the form of four actions on four different scenes: in March, against Amiens; in April, in Flanders; in May, on the Champagne front; in June, on the road to Paris. The purpose of the two first actions was to reach the ocean; that of the two others, to annihilate Paris. The offensives were delayed longer than was expected, for it had required much time to transport from the Russian front the masses of attack, and to prepare the *Strosstruppen*, special assault troops which





were intended to crush everything in their path. Concentration of divisions took place at night only, in silence and mystery. This was the method which had succeeded against the Russians. Ludendorff, the cool calculator, hoped to surprise the Franco-English and submerge them under the deluge. All would be over before the arrival of the Americans.

**1. Offensive against Amiens.**—The first attack took place on March 21, 1918, in Picardy, at the point of juncture of the allied armies, on a front of 90 kilometers, which continued growing smaller in proportion as the German attack became more pronounced toward the west. General Byng, who was on the Ancre, strongly resisted the army of von Marwitz; but Gough, having only 10 divisions to oppose the 37 divisions of von Hutier, retreated to Ham and lost Tergnier. The enemy reached the line of Chaulnes, Roye, Lassigny, Noyon, and contact between the British and the French armies was broken. The English, instead of retiring in a straight line, had retreated obliquely, inclining toward their left wing.

Generalissimo Pétain, in perfect agreement with the English marshal, Douglas Haig, had studied closely all possible plans of a German offensive. The intervention of the French was not long in arriving. While General Pellé, at the head of the Fifth Corps, defended fiercely the gorge of the Oise between Noyon and Ribécourt, his chief, General Humbert, one of the most

brilliant of French colonial officers, gave his attention to maintaining at any cost the liaison between the two armies. He was in danger of being outflanked on his left. Pétain placed Fayolle in charge of the group of armies of Picardy. He had all available troops directed toward Amiens. The order was to hold at any cost, to defend *the heart of France*. As for protecting Paris, Fayolle, Humbert and Pellé took charge of that. On the 25th of March, there began from Noyon to Montdidier a terrific battle which lasted five long days. The French soldiers clung tightly to Mt. Renaud and Thiescourt Wood, near Noyon, and the heart of France was well defended.

But the danger had not been eliminated. Into the pocket which he had hollowed out between the French and the English, von Hutier threw division after division, with the evident intention of pouncing on Amiens and outflanking the French on their left. Pétain divined the enemy's plan and summoned from Toul General Debeney, to whom he promised an army which was to be constituted from all the units that could be got together. And this army arrived regiment by regiment, and as the regiments arrived, they entered into action immediately, often without their artillery, without munitions. But the soldiers stuck "like the scurvy" in front of Montdidier and to the north of the Avre, with strict orders not to go back to the left bank. Debeney thus renewed after four years the prodigy ac-

complished in 1914 by Maunoury, namely, of organizing a new army under the fire of the enemy and preventing its envelopment on our left. The Allied world began to breathe again after the critical day of Holy Friday, March 29, the very same day when the people of Paris, gathered in the church of St. Gervais, were crushed by the explosion of the shell from the Bertha. In Debeney's operation one saw the French manœuvre, "*as clear as a classic tragedy*," say the experts — the manœuvre which saved Paris and Amiens and reestablished the liaison with the English army.

**The unity of command.**— But another result attained was still more important. On the 26th of March, at Doullens, Foch was recognized as supreme chief of the allied armies operating on the French front. Douglas Haig and the English armies, Pétain and the French armies, Pershing and the American armies in formation were going to obey a single directing chief. *One chief, one front*, there lay safety. All bowed to the high superiority of the designated chief, forgetting personal rivalry or rivalry of flags.

**English reinforcements.**— The English understood one other thing — that it was necessary at any cost to bring men to France to support the heroic poilus, exhausted by the superhuman effort of four years of war. The eminent members of the English cabinet, Lloyd George, Lord Milner, Bonar Law, Balfour, Sir Robert Cecil, sent to France numerous reserves which

until then had been kept in Great Britain to defend the island against an improbable German invasion. In the single month of April, 325,000 English soldiers disembarked in France. Thanks to these valiant troops, which were doubled by an almost equal number of Americans, the numerical equilibrium was to be reëstablished between the combating armies. Besides, the English did not neglect operations on the sea. It was in this same month of April, that, by blowing up the mole of Zeebrugge and sinking at Zeebrugge and Ostend some old boats, manœuvred by volunteers of unheard-of audacity, they succeeded in bottling up these two ports, which were the most redoubtable base for the German submarines. The English won more and more the respect of our troops. The *liaison* between the armies was complete.

**2. Offensive in Flanders.**— In April, Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria tried an invasion in massed formation in Flanders. At this point, the Germans expected to have confronting them few French and many English. They hoped by a surprise attack to reach the ocean at Dunkirk and Calais, those dreamed-of objectives almost within sight of the English coast. Whilst the rush was becoming less violent in Picardy and was dying away before Villers-Bretonneux, the Germans captured Bailleul the 11th of April, then Armentières and Mt. Kemmel and attacked furiously the pitiful ruin which had been Ypres.

Foch continued to use his reserves sparingly. Offensive return attacks of the English before Locre proved to the Germans that their victory was still being violently disputed.

### **3. Surprise offensive at the Chemin des Dames.**

— In May, there came a veritable surprise. After having operated a mysterious concentration, which had gone on in the utmost silence for several nights, while the artillery and infantry were carefully concealed and camouflaged during the day, the Germans threw themselves in deep columns against the front from Rheims to Soissons. There was a regrettable giving in of the line. Between the 27th of May and the 1st of June, the Chemin des Dames was recaptured by the Germans. A violent pressure was brought to bear on the Ourcq and Marne. Oulchy-le-Château and Château-Thierry fell into the hands of the enemy, and a battle which filled the Allies with disquietude began between Dormans and Villers-Cotterets. Soissons lost, the lines from Soissons to Rheims and from Paris to Nancy cut, a considerable territory, which it had taken the French more than six months to snatch away from the enemy piece by piece, abandoned in four days after an unequal struggle against an invader ten times superior in number — such were the lamentable results of this defeat, the first the Allies had met since Charleroi and Dinant. The true causes of this so rapid retreat will be known later. It may be simply



that the Champagne front was insufficiently manned, through the necessity of keeping the Franco-English reserves within reach of Ypres and Amiens. Franchet d'Espérey, who commanded in Champagne, was sent to Saloniki, where he redeemed his reputation as a great leader. Guillaumat, recalled from Saloniki, became Governor of Paris to succeed Dubail, who was elevated to the post of high chancellor of the Légion d'Honneur. The government of Paris was a post of trust which could easily become a post of anxiety.

**The rush toward Paris.**— In fact, the great German rush of June was directed at Paris. The battle raged with fury from Montdidier to Noyon. Compiègne was seriously menaced, but this time the reserves resisted successfully and the road to Paris was barred. Everywhere, the Germans had merely won half-successes, dearly paid for. Their chiefs did not confess to their people, famished for bread and peace, that they had attained no one of their objectives, for they had neither reached the Pas-de-Calais, whence they could bombard the English coast, nor had they captured Amiens to cut off the armies of France from the English troops, nor had they forced the gates of Compiègne in order to march on Paris.

**The bombardment of Paris.**— None the less, hymns of victory resounded in Germany. The 15th of June, the thirtieth anniversary of his advent to the throne, the Kaiser delivered a loud-sounding speech in

which he avowed his plans at the time the war broke out: "It was a struggle between two conceptions of the world, *the German conception* of right, liberty, honor, morality" (what cynicism!), "and the English conception, namely, that the peoples of the earth are to work as slaves for the master-race of the Anglo-Saxons." In Germany they began again a campaign of the press for the annihilation of Paris.<sup>1</sup> Two batteries of big Berthas were already sending their projectiles into the city, one from the Forest of Coucy, the other from the Santerre. They would bring up others, they would fire on Paris until the city should be totally destroyed. Is not Paris a city like any other? If it disappeared, what would humanity lose? "The Louvre, a few churches? Good riddance!" The dream of the annihilation of Paris has haunted Prussian imagination for a hundred and twenty-six years. In 1792, the Duke of Brunswick, in his manifesto of July 25, threatened Paris "with military execution and complete destruction." In 1815, the

<sup>1</sup> During the first days of September, 1914, the report circulated that the Kaiser intended to make of Paris the pledge of the immediate peace on which he had decided. The Prussian great general staff asked six weeks to destroy Paris under a rain of incendiary shells. It divided the city into six sectors, which were to be successively attacked. The Kaiser was to offer his peace each week, and if it was refused, he was to cause the infernal work to be continued. But the government of the Republic, which on August 4th had sworn to recover Alsace and Lorraine, did not have to choose between shame and the ruin of Paris, for the victory of the Marne saved France.

Prussians say that they "regret not having burned Paris methodically."<sup>1</sup>

In 1918, then, the Prussians were preparing to begin again the bombardment of Paris, interrupted by the capitulation of 1871 and the miscarried plan of 1914. In the same spirit, the imperial Kronprinz confided to a distinguished American lady, who has since told of it, that if his father had not begun the war, he would have declared it himself on coming to the throne "for the drollery of the thing." The destruction of Paris, the world-war, become the pastime of princes! The second victory of the Marne caused to vanish these monstrous dreams of *German cultur*.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Constant, correspondence with Mme. Récamier (p. 269, November, 1815).

## CHAPTER XI

### PEACE OFFENSIVES

**The German war map.**— For a long time German power had been a mere façade, pompous, it is true, but without solid base. Those who were governing Germany knew well that they would be beaten, but they continued to deceive the people. They had not been able to realize in France their ambitious dreams. The battle of the Marne stopped their brutal rush, while Nancy and Paris, Dunkirk and Calais escaped them. They had not been able to snatch from noble King Albert the shred of his Belgium to which he clung desperately, at Nieuport, Dixmude and Ypres. The Kaiser talked a great deal of the *war map* and the *pledges* which he held, and boasted about occupying the fertile plains of northern France, the rich coal mines of the Pas-de-Calais and the basins of iron ore at Longwy and Briey. He was master of Poland, Courland, Lithuania. He intended establishing German dynasties in Livonia and Esthonia. In Finland, Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse, a vassal of William, was to be made king. In the Ukraine, the hetman Skoropdsik was nothing but a German lieutenant. Thanks to Russian anarchy, Germany hoped to make

new progress in Slavic countries. Her allies, the Bulgarians and Austrians, had despoiled Serbia, Rumania and a part of Greece. The establishment of Mittel-Europa seemed therefore in a fair way to succeed.

**The war map of the Allies.**—But the Allies could oppose to the war map of the Central Empires their own, which was not less suggestive. The Japanese had seized the powerful arsenal of Kiao-chau, all Shantung and the German islands of the Pacific. The French and the English had conquered Togoland and the Camerun, and the English, French and Portuguese had driven the Germans from German South-West and East Africa. The Boers, the fires of whose resentment the Germans had tried to kindle, remained faithful to the English, while Morocco, where they tried to foment a rebellion, was pacified by General Lyautey. The English flag floated at Bagdad, Jerusalem and Damascus. Thus all the German colonies had passed into the hands of the Allies, and the Turks had lost two of their richest territories. The Germans were everywhere execrated, and the entire world had risen against them and their accomplices.

**Suffering in Germany.**—From what has just been said, one can understand the repeated efforts for peace made by Germany, which was dying of famine. As early as the summer of 1917, the weekly ration of a German was 1500 grammes of black bread, 400 grammes of potatoes, 125 grammes of meat, 40

grammes of fats, half a litre of skimmed milk and one egg a fortnight. No more meat pies, no more rice, dried vegetables, preserves or wine! In Saxony, children up to sixteen years of age went barefoot to the school or gymnasium, and the suffering was still greater in Bulgaria and Turkey. In Austria, the weekly ration of bread was reduced to 630 grammes. The Germans still talked boastfully and had lost nothing of their pride. They were still unwilling to abate any part of their conquests or to accord any reparation for the devastations they had committed. But, with their accustomed perfidy, they endeavored to divide their enemies, in order to get the better of them separately by imposing on each one of them their German peace. Such attempts were called peace offensives.

**The Hindenburg peace.**—The first of these offensives was tried on December 12, 1916. The Germans had been beaten at Verdun and on the Somme, but they talked very loud about the crushing of Rumania, which had been brought about by the Russian betrayal. Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg declared to the Reichstag that he had transmitted to all the hostile powers a note tending to organize negotiations for peace. The Allies knew the duplicity of the Germans, and knew that the pangermanists wanted nothing but the *Hindenburg peace* — peace by German victory. They also knew what must be the conditions of this peace, the result of crushing victories. At the

moment when the Germans thought themselves sure of triumph, Bernstorff had made known these conditions under the following ten headings:

1. Cession of all the French colonies;
2. Cession of parts of northeastern France;
3. Granting of an indemnity of 10 billion francs;
4. Suppression for twenty-five years of all duties on German merchandise entering France, Germany reserving to herself the right to impose duties eventually on French products entering Germany;
5. France to renounce obligatory military service for a period of twenty-five years;
6. Destruction of all French fortresses;
7. Surrender by France to Germany of 3 million rifles, 2000 cannon and 40,000 horses;
8. Special privileges accorded in France to all German patents;
9. France to renounce all alliance with Russia and England;
10. France to make an alliance for twenty-five years with Germany.

The 20th of December, Briand replied in strong language that the only possible and durable peace would be one that would give the Allies the necessary *restitutions, reparations and guarantees*, and the note sent the 31st of December, 1916, in the name of the ten powers of the Entente confirmed the declarations of the French minister.

**The Scheidemann peace.**— The second peace offensive was the motion voted by the Reichstag on July 9, 1917, which rejected all idea of conquest, and called for the reconciliation of peoples, with the liberty of the sea and the establishment of a jurisdiction of international arbitration. This was the Scheidemann peace proposition, which the Socialists resumed under the following simplified formula: peace without annexation or indemnity.<sup>1</sup> The Scheidemann peace, called also the *white peace* or *peace of conciliation*, was as dangerous as the Hindenburg peace and more perfidious, because it excluded neither *rectifications of frontiers nor tariffs* in favor of the Germans. The principles of this

<sup>1</sup> The name of Scheidemann was given to this peace offensive because this chief of the governmental Socialists went to Stockholm to defend it in the international conference assembled there by all the friends of Germany. The French Internationalists had asked for passports to go and confer with the delegates of the German Socialists. Ribot refused the passports. It is to be noted, too, that English seamen were unwilling to transport the English Internationalists to Stockholm. Havelock Wilson, president of the Union of British Mariners, shows in 1918 that 20,000 allied sailors who were non-combatants, of whom 15,000 were British, had been assassinated on the ocean by German submarines: "This is why we, the mariners of Great Britain, faithful to our traditions of loyalty on the high seas, file accusation, not alone against the Kaiser, but also against the German nation and especially against the German seamen, who are guilty of complicity and solidarity in the crime." The English mariners and dockhands decided by way of reprisals to boycott absolutely, for a period of five years after the conclusion of the war, all crews and cargoes belonging to the German marine.



Scheidemann peace were applied in the treaties of Kief, Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, which delivered over to German exploitation the Ukraine, Russia and Rumania. The Germans ruined the coal mines of northern France, which furnished two-thirds of the total production of the country, the iron mines in the east, which produced 90 per cent. of the French iron, the most prosperous textile industries and the richest beet fields of France. This peace would permit them to inundate France with products which the French would not be able to make for a long time and which the Germans would manufacture with machines stolen in France. Two industrial societies were formed, one at Düsseldorf to sell to Germans the installations of machinery stolen in the French invaded provinces, the other at Essen to sell the same machinery back to the French.

**The Pope's peace.**— The letter of Pope Benedict XV, published August 16, 1917, probably at the suggestion of Austria, claimed to regulate things according to the absolute principles "of equity and justice." By means of mutual restitutions, Germany was to evacuate Belgium and the invaded French territory. Her colonies would be restored to her. As for Armenia, the Balkan States and Poland, the belligerents would talk over what to do with them. In this project of negotiations, nothing was said of Alsace nor of the Trentino nor of Trieste, nor of any reparation for the intentional damage done by the Germans.

The Allies disdained this new invitation to seat themselves about the green conference table. By putting all the belligerents in the same category, without being willing to distinguish between the aggressors and their victims, between crime and innocence, Benedict arrived at the formula dear to the German Socialists, namely, peace without annexations or indemnity, with universal disarmament and the League of Nations, in which Germany would receive a place without expiating the crimes she had committed. This is again the German peace, that is, a simple truce which would permit Germany, still powerful, to machinate better and to bring to a more successful conclusion another wicked attack. Germany and Austria approved the Pope's initiative. Among the statesmen of the Entente, President Wilson alone replied by bringing out with much force the responsibility of Germany in the war and by affirming that no durable treaty could be signed with German imperialism.<sup>1</sup>

**The peace of the Internationals.**—The intrigues of the Internationalists of all countries worked in favor of peace with the same zeal as the Papal suggestions,

<sup>1</sup> We do not stop to discuss the propositions looking to a separate peace with France. They were expressed in a letter from Emperor Charles the First of Austria to Prince Sixt de Bourbon. Their only purpose was to embroil France and Italy and to discredit Clemenceau (April 2, 1918). Clemenceau answered the venomous insinuations of the Austrian minister, Czernin, with a cutting denial.

although inspired by opposite principles. It was in the name of the admirer of Bismarck, the German Karl Marx, who maintained that "the French need a flogging," that the Internationalists of all countries demanded peace. Under pretext of reconstituting the Internationale, they in reality labored solely for the triumph of pangermanistic ideas. In Denmark, the Russian Parvus; in Holland, Troelstra and Huysmans — the latter a renegade Belgian Socialist, disavowed by van der Velde and by all the Belgian Socialists — in Switzerland, Grimm, who worked at fomenting a general strike; in Russia, Lenine and Trotsky, the abettors of Bolshevism who overthrew Kerensky, the faithful friend of the Entente — all of these individuals were mere agents of Germany. They brought about in 1915 the two international conferences at Kienthal and Zimmerwald, at which a few humanitarian Frenchmen lost their bearings. In 1917, they brought about the conference of Stockholm, where the pangermanist Scheidemann made an appeal to all the forces of the Internationale in favor of the German peace. The urgings of the Internationalists had no success, except in Russia, and what success! They drowned the Russian revolution in beastly saturnalia of drunkenness, pillage and blood.

**Protestations of labor.**— It is all right in time of peace to be a humanitarian pacifist. That becomes the philosopher, who, in the silence of his study, constructs,

independently of things as they are, systems to govern the future. But to be a patriot is better. It is even the only attitude which suits a student of politics in time of war. The Frenchmen of 1792, who proclaimed the rights of man and of peoples, were great patriots. In our day and in all countries, laborers who have the consciousness of their dignity protest against the degrading anarchy of Bolshevism — Gompers, in the name of the American laboring men, Hyndeman, in the name of the English Labor Party, Havelock Wilson, in the name of the Loyal Society of Seamen, eager to avenge their 15,000 comrades drowned in the ocean by the German pirates, protest against the perfidious advances of the international pacifists of all countries. The Social-Democrats of Germany, who are nothing but hypocritical pangermanists, will not be able to recover their place in the reconstituted Internationale, until they have expiated the crimes with which they have soiled their hands.

**The Wilson peace.**— The last peace offensive came from the side of the Entente. It was that of President Wilson. The French minister of Foreign Affairs, Pichon, in his speech of December 27, 1917, and the premier of England, Lloyd George, in his speech to the delegates of the English Trades Unions had defined the war purposes of the Allies. Wilson, in his message of January 8, 1918, to the American Congress, enumerated point by point the things which America de-

sired to attain in the war, an enumeration all the more authoritative because no American territory had been invaded, nor had the country any colonies to defend. It had entered the war purely through an ideal attachment to the cause of justice and liberty. Here are the fourteen points, which served as a basis for the establishment of the armistice of November 11, 1918, and which constituted the program of the future peace:

1. Terms of peace arrived at openly; no more occult diplomacy nor secret treaties;
2. Freedom of navigation outside of territorial waters, in time of peace as well as in time of war, except when these waters shall have been closed in whole or in part by international action;
3. Suppression of all economic barriers and establishment of equal commercial conditions for all nations associated for the maintenance of peace;
4. Guarantees given and received that national armaments shall be reduced to the extreme limits compatible with the security of the country;
5. A free arrangement, in a large and impartial spirit, of all colonial claims, count being taken of the interests of the populations concerned;
6. Evacuation of all Russian territories and facilities given Russia for entering into the League of Nations under a government of her choice;
7. Belgium to be evacuated and restored, without

any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys with regard to the other free nations;

8. All French territory to be evacuated and the invaded regions entirely restored. The wrong done France by Prussia in 1871 in regard to Alsace-Lorraine, which has troubled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, to be repaired;

9. A readjustment of the Italian frontiers to be effected, following the lines of clearly recognizable nationalities;

10. For the first time, an occasion for autonomous development to be given the peoples of Austria-Hungary, a country whose place among the nations it is desired to safeguard;

11. Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro to be evacuated. A free access to the sea to be accorded to Serbia. The relations of the different Balkan States to be fixed on lines historically established. International guarantees of political and economic independence and of territorial integrity to be given these States;

12. Sovereignty and security to be assured to the various parts of the present Ottoman Empire. The populations subject to this empire to be allowed to develop their autonomy without obstacle. Opening of the Dardanelles to the commercial vessels of all nations, under international guarantees;

13. Constitution of an independent Polish State, to include the territories inhabited by Polish populations,

with free access to the ocean. The economic independence and the territorial integrity of these populations to be guaranteed by an international convention;

14. A general league of nations to be formed, having as an object to furnish reciprocal guarantees of political and territorial independence to all these small States.

**The three conceptions of peace.**— Such are the three conceptions of peace: *Hindenburg peace* — military peace, imposed by the sword, the peace which Prussian militarists have always desired and to attain which they waged the war; *Scheidemann peace* — economic peace, attained through astuteness — astuteness dear to all the manufacturers, big merchants and financiers of Germany — a peace bringing with it all the advantages which they might have obtained without waging war; *Wilson peace* — democratic peace, attained through right and liberty, the only peace which the Entente could accept and which she was willing to impose.

**Restitutions. Reparations.**— The only honorable and durable peace is one which will afford the Allies the necessary *restitutions*, *reparations* and *guarantees*. Under restitutions are included Belgium, the North and the East of France, with Alsace-Lorraine, which had been torn away in 1871, Serbia, Rumania, Poland and the Russian provinces, which must be given over to themselves for free determination of their fate.

The Germans deported as slaves and condemned to forced labor on the soil and in factories and trenches lamentable droves of Belgians, French of the invaded regions, Poles, Serbians and Rumanians. They can never expiate all the tortures inflicted on individuals and on families. But they stole furniture, silverware, the moneys on deposit in the banks, the machinery of the factories. That at least they ought to pay for or return it in kind — and these things are reparations.

**Guarantees.**—In the matter of guarantees, the Allies ought to take sureties from people who have always broken their word and who consider treaties as scraps of paper. The real guarantee is to destroy Prussian militarism and not to treat with the German nation until it is freed from its present masters. It has been said that German prisoners are divisible into two clearly defined categories — the sheep and the criminals. The sheep are the private soldiers who receive at command the slaps of their officers. The criminals are the petty nobles of the militaristic class who ordered the devastations and the slaughtering. It was the intellectuals who created the theory of a *cruel war*, and it was the captains of commerce and industry who organized piracy on land and sea, in order to destroy the economic competition of their rivals.

**The Society of Nations.**—President Wilson has very well expressed it: the Society of Nations can only be established between peoples, not between gov-



ernments. It is necessary, then, that all oppressed peoples — Slavs of Austria, Serbians, Rumanians, Poles, Arabs and Armenians (the last two oppressed by the Turks) — obtain the government of their choice, by the same right as the Alsatians or the Italians of the Trentino and Trieste. It is necessary to be able to treat with an honorable government, capable of keeping sworn promises.

**The conference of Rome.**— It required four years of hard battles and victories that long remained sterile to be able to realize unity of command. Diplomatic unity, despite the numerous conferences of Rapallo, St. Jean-de-Maurienne, Rome, Paris and London, had not been reached. It did not become complete until the congress of Rome, which was to bring about the disappearance of Austria, which certain out-of-date diplomats thought of maintaining in rejuvenated Europe. The conference of Rome (April 8–10, 1918) brought about the rational solution desired by all adversaries of a peace of compromise — a peace which could be nothing but a dangerous plastering over. In this conference, the following resolution was adopted unanimously:

“ The representatives of the nationalities subject in whole or in part to Austria-Hungary — Italians, Poles, Rumanians, Czecho-Slovacs — agree to affirm their principles of common action as follows: 1. Each one of these peoples proclaims its right to constitute its na-

tionality and its national unity or to complete it and attain its full political and economic independence; 2. Each one of these peoples recognizes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the tool of German domination and a fundamental obstacle to the realization of its aspirations and rights; 3. This assembly recognizes consequently the necessity of a common struggle against common oppressors, in order that each people may attain its entire liberation and its complete national unity in the free unity of the State."

There followed a special agreement between Italians and Jugo-Slavs, by virtue of which the two nations came to an understanding as to a common effort toward realizing the integrity of their national unity. Minister Orlando confirmed this policy by giving a wide circulation to his approval. The last dissensions among the powers of the Entente were disappearing.

**The Polish Republic.**—Already the Russian revolution had made a freer policy possible for the Entente. The powers of the Entente could now depose King Constantine of Greece, whose principal support had been the Czar and they could henceforth give free rein to ancient sympathies for the liberty of Poland. The autocrat of Petrograd had been unable to pronounce the decisive words which would have won for him the hearts of the Slavs of Poland. Vague promises of reforms to be carried out after the war had not succeeded in eliminating the just suspicions of the Pol-

ish Catholics and Liberals as to the Orthodox Russians, their oppressors.

After the fall of the Czar, France called to her the Polish volunteers to serve under the command of their own chiefs, with their own particular uniform and flag. It was a promise to restore the Polish nation to its ancient and glorious unity. The Polish Legion was formed near le Mans, at Sillé-le-Guillaume, and fought bravely in our ranks. Another Polish army combatted in Siberia against the Bolshevists. The appearance of these armies had caused all the projects for an autonomous realm, with which the Germans were going to endow Russian Poland, and whose throne German and Austrian princes were already disputing among themselves to crumble to dust. Gen. Pilsudsky, escaping from the prisons of the Kaiser, was put at the head of a national committee which organized the Polish Republic, already proclaimed at Lublin. The Allies decided that reconstituted Poland should include all the districts which belonged to ancient Poland, before the partitions, and that it should possess Dantzig as seaport on the Baltic.

**The Czecho-Slovak armies.**—The Czecho-Slovak movement had been prepared a long time previously by the ardent Czechophiles of Paris, at whose head is Professor Ernest Denis, he whom the Czechs call the national historian of Bohemia. In January, 1917, Briand, in his reply to President Wilson, had already

had the courage to insist on the emancipation of the Slavs of Austria. Like the Poles, the Czecho-Slovacs also formed in France and Italy valiant legions of volunteers. In Russia there was soon ready an army of Czecho-Slovacs to the number of about 100,000 men, where were to be found also Poles and Dalmatians. All these men were Slavs who had been enrolled by force among the Austrians and who had voluntarily joined the ranks of the Russians, their racial brothers, instead of fighting against them. They were heroes, not cowards.

**The Czecho-Slovacs in Russia.**— Put at liberty by the Russian revolution, their only desire was to restore the independence of Czecho-Slovakia and to be recognized as an allied army, on the same footing as that of the Greeks and Serbians. Lenine and Trotsky, who had become the agents of Germany, had them attacked by their Red Guards. The Czecho-Slovacs sought to escape from this wasp's nest. They set out on the interminable route of the Transsiberian railway and went as far as Vladivostok, taking charge everywhere of the stations, protecting the bridges and the tunnels, liked by the people because of their firm discipline, sustained by all the sound elements of Russia—by Brussiloff, Korniloff, Alexeieff, who gave them as chief Gen. Dietrichs, one of his best lieutenants. They even aided at Omsk the formation of a central government, composed of the scattered members of the Con-

stitutional Convention and the delegates of the zemstvos.

**The revolution at Prague.**—The Czecho-Slovacs have proved on the field of battle that they are capable of conquering in defense of their rights. The national uprising against Austria burst forth the 13th of April, 1918, at Prague. The Slav deputies in the Austrian Reichstag had this solemn oath approved by the people, *to be faithful in the struggle, faithful under suffering, faithful in life even to the death and to pursue the combat until victory should be attained, until they should have founded the independence of the nation.* Since then, the Czecho-Slovak Republic has been proclaimed (October 15, 1918). It has its president, Professor Mazaryk, its ministers, its representatives in foreign countries; it is, and will be, a reality.

**Greater Serbia.**—There remained the Slovenes or Jugo-Slavs, Serbians, Croatians and Slavs of southern Austria. They have not been less heroic than the others. All know the splendid epic of the Serbians.

A troop of Jugo-Slavs, liberated in Russia, accomplished an anabasis almost as long and painful as that of their brother Czecho-Slovacs, by going from Odessa by way of Czeliabinsk to join the troops of the Entente which had disembarked on the Murman coast of the Arctic Ocean. The Jugo-Slavs also deserve, then, to form a nation. But they were hampered by the claims

of Italy to the Dalmatian coast, which, save for Zara, is of Slavic race. By the treaty of London of April 15, 1915, the Entente had recognized the rights of Italy to these regions. The Italians, however, understood the necessity of having the Jugo-Slavs as friends, instead of pushing them into the arms of Austria. An agreement was entered into for the division of the Dalmatian coast line, and it was from this that came the sane policy of Italo-Slavic unity which triumphed at the congress of Rome. The Croats and the Catholic Slovenes are in perfect accord with the orthodox Serbians to constitute a Greater Serbia, and the national Jugo-Slavic council of Zagreb (Agram), directed by Korochev and Trumbitch, is established in close union with aged King Peter of Serbia and his minister, Pachitch. Thanks to the broadly liberal spirit of Italy, the last difficulties have been smoothed away.

**Disappearance of Austria.**—Thus Austria is “down and out.” The abdication of the Emperor, Charles the First, gave her her coup de grâce, since it was the Hapsburg dynasty which, by its tyrannical police surveillance and by its uncompromising intolerance, could alone maintain an artificial bond among all the hostile peoples whom this dynasty ruled. From this moment on, there exists a Mittel-Europa, but different from the one longed for by Germany. From the

Baltic to the Adriatic, from Dantzig to Rieka (Ragusa), it will be composed of irreconcilable enemies of the German people, who are determined to serve as a barrier to all new ambitions toward the Orient which the Germans may conceive.

## CHAPTER XII

### VICTORY — CAPITULATION OF GERMANY

**The supreme offensive.— Disposition of the German forces.**— This is the triumphal chapter of victory. After fifty-one months of incessant fighting, victory crowned the efforts of the peoples which had taken up arms for the cause of right. We may hope that imperialistic ambitions have been forever stifled, for the greater happiness of the world.

The German offensives had brought little more than disappointments from March 21, 1918, on. The enemy, master of the Chemin des Dames, had passed beyond the line of the Ourcq, crossed the Marne between Château-Thierry and Dormans and was getting ready to carry Epernay, in order to encircle Rheims, cut communications with Verdun and make a decisive drive toward Paris. Nearly every night, Paris was visited by *Gothas* and bombarded regularly by batteries of *Berthas* installed near Ham and Coucy. On the advice of the government, Paris was becoming empty, not through panic — the French in this war had made themselves souls of bronze — but through precaution. In Germany Kühlmann fell from power, for having dared to say that military action



alone would not bring the war to a close. The pan-germanists had never seemed nearer the integral victory for which they had hoped.

Ludendorff, who was conducting operations under the revered name of Hindenburg, devoted a month to regrouping his army for the supreme offensive. His nine armies were massed in échelon in the form of a carpenter's square:

1. From north to south, under the command of Rupprecht, Kronprinz of Bavaria, were the armies of von Arnim, in Flanders; of von Quast, von Buelow, von Marwitz, this last group of armies extending from Cambrai to St. Quentin;

2. From west to east, under the command of Kronprinz William of Prussia, were the armies of von Hutier, from St. Quentin to La Fère, of von Karlowitz, von Einem, von Mudra and von Eberhardt. When the tide of battle began to turn, the royal princes, in order to lose no prestige, yielded their commands, Rupprecht to von Boehm, William to von Gallewitz. These two, as a matter of fact, had been before this the veritable chiefs of the two groups of armies.

The German troops had suffered severely in the four offensives of the spring of 1918. None the less, they were still animated by a lively fighting spirit, encouraged by their former successes and by the hope of speedy peace. Ludendorff had brought together for this decisive campaign all the Prussian Guard and his

finest attacking troops. His tactics were always to strike in heavy, massed formation, after long, silent nocturnal preparations.

**Tactics of Foch.**—The allied troops, sustained by their admirable morale, had lost nothing of their fighting vigor. They knew that the moment had come to conquer or die. In numbers and material, they were at least equal to the German troops. Like Joffre, Foch and Pétain had wisely fought for time, while opposing the hostile drives by a “monstrously tenacious resistance” and a wall of steel. Judging it impossible to break the Hindenburg line, strongly protected as it was by works of reinforced concrete, they had dealt the Germans numerous blows at Verdun, on the Somme, on the Chemin des Dames, inflicting on them losses often double their own. The Kronprinz and his mentors lavished with frightful indifference the blood of their men. The great chiefs loved their soldiers and were careful of their lives.

Foch, during the tragic spring of 1918 had economized his reserves and had succeeded in filling with patience both his admirable armies and public opinion. It was not until the American and English accretions had compensated for the defection of Russia, when heavy artillery was ready in sufficient quantities, when the aviation was in perfect condition, when the little Renault tanks, which Pétain had convinced the Allies were the decisive instrument of victory, had been manu-

factured by the thousands — it was only when he had well in hand all the elements of victory, that Foch engaged the final battle, which lasted without intermission for four long months (July 14–November 11, 1918).

**Disposition of the French forces.**— From north to south, the following troops were in position: the Belgian army of King Albert, the English armies of Generals Plumer, Horn, Byng and Rawlinson, under the command of Field-Marshal Douglas Haig. The French armies commanded by Generals Debeney and Humbert, under the orders of Gen. Fayolle, and by Generals Mangin, Berthelot and Gouraud, under the orders of Gen. Maistre. Gen. Liggett commanded the Americans between the Meuse and the Moselle. Douglas Haig, Pétain and Pershing commanded respectively the English, French and American armies, and Foch, raised to the dignity of Marshal of France in August, was the generalissimo of the allied armies.

**The French chiefs.**— A word concerning the brilliant pleiad of French leaders who assured the final triumph. We already know Debeney, the theorist, the esteemed professor of the War College, who organized under fire an improvised army and accomplished miracles with it at the defense of the Avre. His preparations always attain their purpose, so much care does he put into the plan proposed and so great is his energy in its execution. Quite unlike him, Humbert is, like “our Joffre,” a colonial who has passed all his

career in the Tonkin, in Madagascar, in Morocco. He received orders to recover the advantage in the battle to the west of Noyon, and he did so, by stopping the march toward Paris. Mangin and Gouraud are two other colonials who inhabited for a long time the black country — Mangin, the initiator of the recruitment of negro troops, a man to whom are cheerfully assigned the most perilous posts; Gouraud, who became popular while still a captain for having captured the Sudanese chief Samory, and who had an arm amputated at the Dardanelles. He was the idol of his soldiers. At the head of these generals were Fayolle, commander of the western group of armies, and Maistre, commander of the central group; then Degoutte, de Mitry, the brilliant cavalier, one of those heroes of the bitter campaign of the Yser; Berthelot the organizer of the Rumanian army; Guillaumat, man of decision and energy, who is called to posts of confidence in the most critical moments and who at this time had just been made military Governor of menaced Paris; finally, as French generalissimo, Pétain, the victor of Carençy, the savior of Verdun, a brain endowed for organization, a magnificent soldier of rare abnegation, since he was willing to receive orders from Foch, whose superior he had been for a year. Such are the great chiefs to whom are confided the destinies of France, and they are in good hands. ●

**General Foch.**— Above them all, was Foch, who

joins most lofty moral and technical qualities to the purest devotion to duty. Conspicuous already as a teacher in the War College, he taught that war is the province of moral force; a battle is the struggle of two wills; victory is moral depression in the vanquished and superiority in the victor. He would maintain this moral superiority like a "sacred flame." Commandant of the 20th Corps at Nancy in 1914, he revealed himself as a great chief in his masterly manoeuvre before Fère-Champenoise and in the marshes of St. Gond, a manoeuvre which decided the victory of the Marne. The English appreciated his genius at the battle of the Yser, the Italians after Caporetto. He became the friend of Gen. Pershing. Deliberate in conception, energetic in action, he is a man of silence, a man of indomitable will, capable in tragic hours "of a fierce energy which inspires in him the telling words and the decisive orders. This genial strategist is going to bring the enemy up short and force him to his knees" (Painlevé). At the War College, he taught that the offensive alone can give victory, but he does not commence the offensive until he judges the moment favorable, until he has ready all his means of action — men and material.

Among French officers, in the great military family, under a republic which inspires courage in all hearts, it is easy to get along. \*But Foch, having become the commander of the allied armies, had a more difficult

rôle. He succeeded, however, in imposing his high authority on all the allied chiefs, by his firm courtesy and perfect good sense. Clemenceau, aided by the favorable disposition of Lloyd George, Orlando and Col. House, was able to realize the union of souls. Foch, from his position above the allied generals, brought about the union of energy. From this close collaboration of great leaders of politics and of the army was to come the victory of the sacred cause.

**The second battle of the Marne.**—At Paris, the night of the 14th of July, the national holiday, which was celebrated in the midst of anxiety of soul, intense flashes cut across the sky. Cannonading could be heard in the distance; the second battle of the Marne was beginning. The Germans, in danger of being enclosed in the pocket which they had hollowed out south of the Marne, between Dormans and Château-Thierry, retreated as far as the Vesle and the Aisne, after having lost Fère-en-Tardenois, Oulchy-le-Château, and, for the second time, they executed their "return" (July 18). Fortune smiled on the Allies again on the banks of the Marne, bringing the salvation of Paris. At the end of this new battle in the plains of Châlons, the hordes of the modern Attila began their retreat. By the 31st of July, the Allies had captured 35,000 prisoners, while 700 cannons had fallen into their hands. Soissons, the strategic hinge of the French front, was reconquered the 2nd of August.

**The Offensives in Picardy.**—A second offensive was begun the 8th of August. This time, instead of being covered on the right by the Marne, the Allies were covered on their left by the Somme. Debeney conducted the action with his unfailing sureness, and he was well supported by the English of Rawlinson. They snatched from the Germans Montdidier, which was a mere ruin, sacked and burned, and we drove them from the plateau of the Santerre and Lassigny as far as the approaches of Noyon, Roye, Chaulnes, Bapaume and Croissilles. The English took in five days (August 21–25) 17,000 prisoners. Another offensive was launched further north, the 26th of August, in which the English bore the principal part. The Germans were driven from Noyon and Chaulnes, from Ham, Péronne, Bertincourt, and were thrown back on the celebrated Hindenburg line, which itself was penetrated in the direction of Cambrai.

**The battle becomes general.**—The 26th of September, the battle became general in Champagne, in the region around Cambrai, in Flanders. The Americans, to mark their entrance into the campaign, had just reduced the pocket of St. Mihiel, to the south of Verdun. General Liggett was now operating between the Argonne and the Meuse, Gouraud in Champagne between the Argonne and the Suippe, Mangin between the Ailette and the Aisne, Debeney in front of St. Quentin, the English from St. Quentin to Cambrai

and at the Sensée. Finally, the Belgians operated from Dixmude to Hollebeke. The attack stretched over a front of 160 kilometers. Ludendorff had still 75 fresh divisions to throw into the furnace. The manœuvre of Foch and Pétain was very supple; each success constituted a stage from which they started for a new offensive. For each new action, there was ready an attacking mass of fresh troops, which hustled the enemy, without giving him time to bring up his reserves.

The German was everywhere assailed by superior forces — September 26th in Champagne, then between Cambrai and St. Quentin. The Flemish coast was delivered in two bounds. Starting from Dixmude, King Albert carried the Forest of Houthulst (September 28–30), while an attack without preparation of artillery gave to the Belgians Menin, Courtrai, Roulers, Ostend and Bruges, with the strong naval base of Zeebrugge (October 14–19). From all sides, Foch pressed Ludendorff, as the allies at Leipzig pressed Napoleon, but the gigantic struggle, instead of taking place around a single stronghold, was spread out over a front of 500 kilometers. The uninterrupted battle did not last four days, but four months.

**Retreat of the Germans.**— The month of October was the decisive month. The Germans were out of breath. They had been losing at the rate of 100,000 prisoners per month since the middle of July, while their dead and wounded amounted to twice this num-



ber. Their war material was becoming exhausted and munitions now arrived only in restricted quantities. Then, to make matters worse, the Americans now numbered two million. The Allied tanks and aeroplanes continued their terrifying work. The Germans began a general retreat along the French front.

Marshal Foch profited by the weariness of the enemy to strike new blows of the hammer, which opened many doors to the Allies. St. Quentin and Laon were recovered. The 17th of October, the king of the Belgians entered Ostend, General Plumer entered Douai; General Birwood delivered at Lille 120,000 French. In Champagne, the Siegfried line yielded as early as the last of September, being carried by Gouraud, Berthelot and Mangin. But the Germans clung desperately to the Hunding line, which protected their last positions prepared for retirement, on the Serre between Guise and Rethel. Mangin and Guillaumat, the successor of Berthelot, who had been sent back to Rumania, took strip by strip the positions along the Serre, then Sissone, Château-Porcien and Rethel. The 1st of November, the army of Degoutte, which effected the liaison between the Belgians and the English, took possession of Audenarde.

The 4th of November, a great battle was fought on the canal of the Sambre by the armies of Horn, Byng and Rawlinson, in liaison with the army of Debeney. The English made themselves masters of the Forest of

Mormal and entered Valenciennes and Maubeuge. The pocket between Vervins and Rethel was about to be entirely emptied. On our right, Gouraud, acting in concert with the Americans, reconquered Grand-Pré, the Chêne, all of northern Argonne, whilst the Americans, having captured Dun, marched toward Montmédy and Briey. The Americans had taken in one month 20,000 prisoners and 150 cannon. The 9th of November, Debeney was at Hirson, Humbert at Rocroi and Gouraud before Mézières. French territory was almost entirely liberated.

**The request for peace.**— It was all over with German resistance. As early as October 4th, at the urgent request of Ludendorff, the government of the Kaiser offered to accept as basis for peace the fourteen points proposed in President Wilson's message of January 8, 1918. The 11th of November, the military armistice, imposed by Marshal Foch in the name of the Allies, was signed at the château of Francport by the German plenipotentiaries. Germany had capitulated. France and her faithful allies had won the complete victory which alone could terminate the struggle between the two conceptions of the existence of humanity.

**Pillagings, destruction and massacres.**— But in what a condition had the barbarians left France! Laon, put to sack, was deprived of her mayor, who had been carried off a hostage. Cambrai was in flames. Douai was a desert, robbed of its inhabitants and their

furniture. Some of her councilors and presidents of the chamber of the Court of Appeals, who too had been taken as hostages, had perished of cold, famine and mistreatment in the frozen marshes of Lithuania. The great establishments, such as the Industrial Iron and Steel Works of Denain and Anzin, where 25,000 employees worked, had been stripped systematically. All that could not be carried away into Germany had been broken by shifts of prisoners who worked under threat of rifle butts in the hands of soldiers and revolvers in the hands of non-commissioned officers. As for the churches, they had been ransacked to the last corner, under pretext that bonds, money and precious articles might be concealed there. All metal objects which were not absolutely indispensable for religious exercises had been sent to Germany: "these objects are here of no utility, whilst in Germany they are much needed for the manufacture of war material."<sup>1</sup>

**The martyrdom of Lille.**—At Lille, the linen factories and the metal works had been sacked from top to bottom, even to the transmission belts. In the private houses, everything, even the wool of mattresses, had been sent to Germany. Everywhere the *bureau of war booty* had functioned in methodical fashion. The inhabitants were dying of hunger, in spite of American food supplies and in spite of the admirable

<sup>1</sup> Secret note emanating from the staff of the Third German Army, General Headquarters, May 20, 1918.

solidarity of the well-to-do families and those less fortunate. But the most painful martyrdom was that of the 25,000 people who were deported — young boys and girls, torn from their families. The young girls, herded together with prostitutes and forced to submit to the infamy of "medical" examination, were carried off to slavery at hard labor in Germany, or condemned to serve German officers to replace their orderlies, who had been sent to the battle front. Monsignor Charost, Bishop of Lille, and Rector Lyon did not cease to protest with the greatest courage against these ignominies, which were denounced from the tribune of the Chamber by Delory, Ragheboom and Inghels, and in the press, by Mayor Delesalle. May these ignominies render forever execrable the name of German!

**The German adieux to France and Belgium.**—The last adieu to France was another act of useless savagery. The 11th of November, the armistice being already signed, two hours before the cessation of fire, a rain of gas and incendiary shells swept down on the unfortunate inhabitants of Mézières, who, for four years had offered hospitality — obligatory, it is true — to the German General Headquarters.<sup>1</sup> Above all, one should think of the condition of distress and nakedness

<sup>1</sup> The adieu of the Germans to Brussels consisted in blowing up the South Station and that of Schaerbeek by delayed action infernal machines, a week after the signing of the armistice. Many others were found before they exploded.

in which the prisoners were returned from Germany, many of them after having suffered the torture of reprisal camps, where they underwent the sufferings of hunger and treatment like that given beasts of burden lashed by the whip. How many of them will fall victim to tuberculosis or be condemned to drag out a miserable life?

**Collapse of Germany's allies.**— On all theaters of operations the allies of the Kaiser were in collapse. They were only kept going by the aid of Germany. When Germany could no longer send them men or munitions, they succumbed one after the other, and dragged Germany down with them.

**Offensive of the army of Saloniki.**— Since the 15th of September, 1918, the army of Saloniki had been on the move and has justified all the hopes which Briand founded on its action. Guillaumat had prepared the offensive with care. Franchet d'Espérey, the new chief of the allied contingents, carried it out with vigor. A breach was opened by the carrying of the massifs lying between the Cerna and the Vardar. The Franco-Serbiens performed this feat. The capture of the defile of Demir-Kapou cut in two the Bulgarian army. To the east of the Vardar, the British seized Strumitza, and the Greeks penetrated into the region of Seres and Drama. The Serbiens entered at Uskub (otherwise Veles), the 26th of September, the French, at Prilep. The Bulgarians retreated in wild disorder

across the mountains, through narrow gorges, where they lost many men. Railway trains, cannon, all sorts of booty fell into the hands of the Allies, who, at certain points, advanced as much as twenty kilometers a day.

**Capitulation of Ferdinand of Bulgaria.**— Abandoned to his own resources, Ferdinand, on the 26th of September, asked for terms. On the 30th of September, at the General Headquarters of the Allies, was signed the armistice which opens to the armies of the Entente all the Bulgarian territory, with the use of its roads and railways. The Bulgarian troops were disarmed. Ferdinand abdicated in favor of his son Boris. What a singular destiny is that of this master trickster, who since 1908 had been dreaming of obtaining the hegemony of the Balkans through the support of Austria; who betrayed the Entente in 1915, because he had faith in the success of the monstrous attack launched against Verdun by the Germans; who treated his ministers like domestics; lacking in moral sense, superstitious and cowardly, trembling at the sound of the cannon; and at the last in Austria to avoid the dagger of his relatives or victims, Stamboulof and others — for the rest, a most curious and distinctly antipathetic figure!

**Liberation of Serbia.**— Through the collapse of Ferdinand, the Berlin-Vienna-Constantinople railway was cut. It remained to drive the Austro-Germans

from Serbia. The Serbians, eager to reconquer their devastated motherland, pursued their triumphal march by Nish and Vidin to the Danube and to Belgrade, where they joined hands with the Jugo-Slavs. It was necessary also to dislodge the Austrians from Albania. The Italians began to carry out their movement along the coast of the Adriatic. General Ferrero carried successively Berat, Elbasan, Durazzo, Scutari, whilst the French, masters of Prisrend, Mitrovicza and Novi-Bazar, completed the liberation of Serbia and Montenegro. Thus there took place here a first reparation of justice and right, even before the complete deliverance of Belgium.

**The English in Mesopotamia.**—The Turks, once deprived of the aid of the Germans, were not slow in withdrawing from the struggle. A long time before, the English had made sure the approaches to India and Egypt by their expeditions to Mesopotamia. The English army, commanded by Sir Stanley Maude, entered Bagdad almost at the same time that the Russian army of General Baratof at Kirmanshah (March, 1917). The two chiefs were in contact at Khanikin opposite Samara, whither the Turks had withdrawn. It is true that the Russian revolution retarded the disaster of the Turks. They were able to return to Erzerum and Trebizond and to reconquer all Armenia, where they began their massacres again and tried to stop the progress of the English. Stanley Maude,



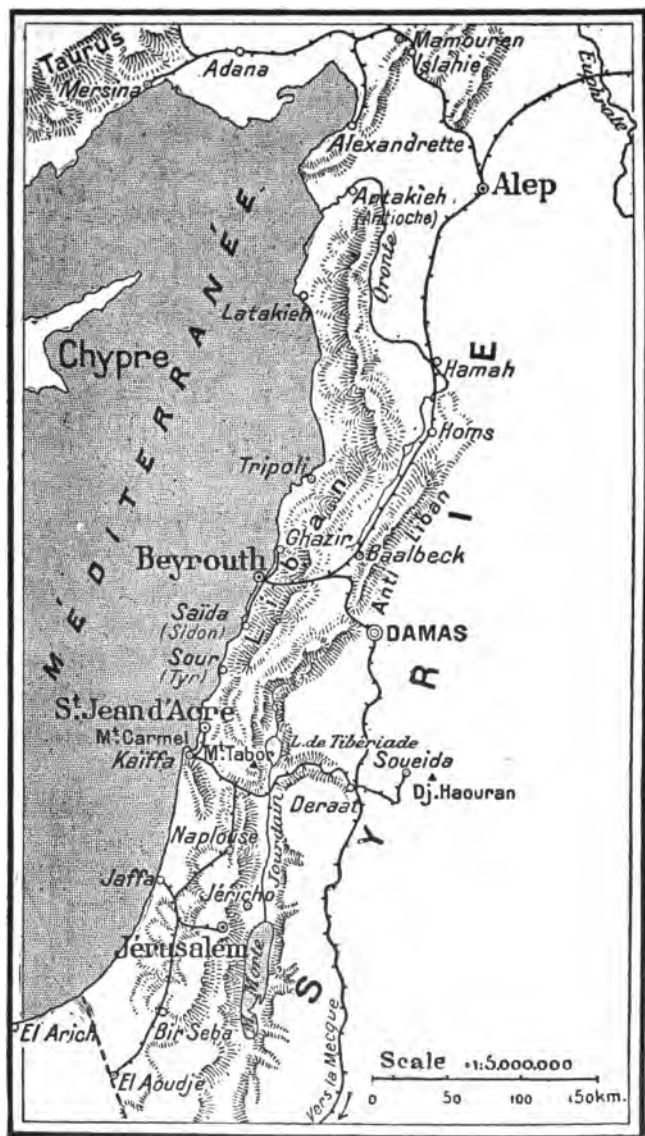


however, won still another great victory at Tekrit (185 kilometers north of Bagdad). The campaign terminated by the defeat and surrender of the Turkish army of Hakkipacha. The English, masters of Keruk, were drawing near to Mosul at the moment when the armistice with Turkey was signed.

**Conquest of Syria.**—The full security of Egypt was assured by the campaign in Syria, which was brilliantly conducted by General Allenby, with the aid of French and Italian contingents and the support of the French fleet. As early as 1916, the Turks, directed by German officers, had been thrown back on to the peninsula of Sinai, which made the Suez Canal safe from attack. In 1917, the English, victors at Gaza (March 26) and at Jaffa (November), entered Jerusalem like new crusaders (December 11). Jericho was next to fall.

The English advanced rapidly, being supported by the Arab tribes of Hussein, king of the Hedjaz, which were operating to the east of the Jordan and along the railway to Mecca. At each stage, they gathered in hastily prisoners and material. The Turkish débâcle was beginning. By October, the English were masters of Damascus and Beyrout, of Homs and Tripoli, whilst the Arabs occupied the oasis of Baalbek.

The Allies were acclaimed everywhere as liberators. They were going to favor the establishment of the Zionists at Jerusalem and in all restored Judea. They



SYRIA AND PALESTINE

were going to restore independence to the valiant Christian inhabitants of Lebanon, old clients of France, who speak her language and admire her generous traditions. The regeneration of Syria had begun.

**Débâcle of the Young Turks.**—These defeats precipitated the fall of the *coterie* of the Young Turks, who had become the vassals of Germany. The new Sultan, Mehemet VI, drove from power Enver, Talaat and Djemal, the fatal triumvirate of the germanophiles. These individuals took flight to escape just reprisals. Izzet-Pacha, named Grand Vizir, asked for an armistice, which was signed October 31, 1918. The question of the Orient is about to be solved by the enfranchisement of the Arabian, Jewish, Syrian and Armenian nationalities. The military and religious oppression of the Turks, which has lasted for nearly five centuries, will be broken. The Turks will at least have a more honorable end than the Central Empires, which dragged them into the great war.

**Retreat of the Austrians in Italy.**—**Attainment of Italian unity.**—Austria in turn had to give up. The Italians dealt them the final blows. The Italians had undergone and repelled in June, 1918, a powerful attack from Boeroevic with 55 divisions, on a front of 150 kilometers extending from the plateau of Asiago, to Vicenza and Venice. The Austrians had to recross the Piave, leaving in the hands of the Italians 12,000 prisoners and 100,000 soldiers *hors de combat*. The

Slav Boeroevic, looked on with dislike by the German *coterie* at Vienna, was disgraced. The Austrians experienced the greatest lack of food and material and could henceforth do nothing.

Diaz, the Italian generalissimo, did not renew the action until the 25th of October, driving ahead of him an inert mass of soldiers out of breath, whose only thought was to surrender. The French and English contingents lent efficacious aid to the Italians, just as an Italian contingent had fought bravely in Champagne in the army of Berthelot. The Austrians, beaten at Vittorio Veneto, abandoned the line of the Tagliamento, and the Italians entered Trent the 2nd of November and Trieste two days before the signing of the armistice. They had taken half a million prisoners, with booty which mounted into the billions. A fine revenge for Caporetto! With a minimum of loss, the Italians had been able to obtain a maximum of results. Italian unity attained a glorious consummation. Austria, on the other hand, fell apart into hostile republics and the abdication of Charles I (November 12, 1918) put an end to the artificial empire of the Hapsburgs.

**Intervention of the Allies in Russia.**—The Japanese had decided, with the consent of the United States, to intervene in Russia, in order to oppose German seizure of Siberia, which the treaty of Brest-Litovsk rendered possible and probable. The Japanese, rein-

forced by some small allied contingents, advanced as far as Irkutsk, where they effected a junction with the Czecho-Slovacs. Other allied contingents debarked on the Murman coast and descended as far as Vologda, to watch Finland, which had been given over to German influence. But noble Russia still groans under the shameful tyranny of the Bolsheviks. When and how will come the fall from power of their consuls, Lenine and Trotsky? We cannot tell. For the present, Russia, fallen into chaos, is the great enigma of the future.

**Check of submarine warfare.**—The last hope of the Germans, submarine warfare, had become more than ever powerless. It had not prevented the transportation of English and American troops. If provisions reached the Allies with increased difficulty by sea, the German blockade was never able to reduce to famine the peoples of the Entente. Each tri-monthly report since the summer of 1917 recorded a progressive diminution of vessels torpedoed, while the ships built by the Entente in 1918 exceeded by about 300,000 tons the tonnage of the boats of all countries that had been sent to the bottom by German pirates.

**The armistice of November 11, 1918.**—Germany was crumbling to pieces little by little; she was perishing by the wearing out of material, men and courage. The will to conquer had been succeeded by the will to

treat at any price. It was the long-foreseen débâcle. The armistice for which the Germans had asked President Wilson on October 4th was imposed by the allied military council of Marshal Foch and signed November 11th. The conditions were thus resumed by the *Journal de Genève*:

1. To become effective six hours after the signing.
2. Immediate evacuation of Belgium, France and Alsace-Lorraine, the whole within fourteen days. Troops which are found in these territories after the expiration of this time shall be interned or made prisoners of war.
3. The following to be turned over to the Allies: 5,000 cannon of large caliber, 30,000 machine-guns, 3,000 mine-throwers and 2,000 aeroplanes.
4. Evacuation of the left bank of the Rhine. Mayence, Coblenz and Cologne will be occupied, with a radius thirty kilometers deep.
5. Constitution of a neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine, having from 30 to 40 kilometers' depth. Evacuation within eleven days.
6. Nothing is to be removed from the left bank of the Rhine. Factories, railways, etc., to be left intact.
7. To be delivered to the Allies: 5,000 locomotives, 150,000 cars, 10,000 automobile trucks.
8. Germany to maintain the hostile troops of occupation.

9. In the East, all troops to be withdrawn behind the frontier of August 1, 1914. No date is indicated for this operation.

10. The treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest to be renounced.

11. Unconditional capitulation in East Africa.

12. Restitution of the holdings of the Belgian State Bank and of Rumanian and Russian gold.

13. Return of prisoners of war without reciprocity.

14. To be delivered to the Allies: 100 submarines, 8 light cruisers and 6 dreadnoughts. The other vessels shall be disarmed and placed under surveillance of the Allies in neutral or allied ports.

15. Free passage is to be granted through the Catte-gat. Removal of the mine fields. Occupation of all forts and batteries which might hamper free passage.

16. The blockade to continue. German ships may still be subject to capture.

17. All limitations on neutral navigation declared by Germany are annulled.

18. The armistice is to last thirty days.

The great World War is terminated. Germany is placed in a position where she can for a long time do no more harm.







